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# THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

(1547—1603)

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# INTRODUCTION

THIS series of English History Source Books is intended for use with any ordinary textbook of English History. Experience has conclusively shown that such apparatus is a valuable—nay, an indispensable—adjunct to the history lesson. It is capable of two main uses: either by way of lively illustration at the close of a lesson, or by way of inference-drawing, before the textbook is read, at the beginning of the lesson. The kind of problems and exercises that may be based on the documents are legion, and are admirably illustrated in a *History of England for Schools*, Part I., by Keatinge and Frazer, pp. 377-381. However, we have no wish to prescribe for the teacher the manner in which he shall exercise his craft, but simply to provide him and his pupils with materials hitherto not readily accessible for school purposes. The very moderate price of the books in this series should bring them within the reach of every secondary school. Source books enable the pupil to take a more active part than hitherto in the history lesson. Here is the apparatus, the raw material: its use we leave to teacher and taught.

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satisfy the natural demand for certain "stock" documents of vital importance, we hope to introduce much fresh and novel matter. It is our intention that the majority of the extracts should be lively in style—that is, personal, or descriptive, or rhetorical, or even strongly partisan—and should not so much profess to give the truth as supply data for inference. We aim at the greatest possible variety, and lay under contribution letters, biographies, ballads and poems, diaries, debates, and newspaper accounts. Economics, London, municipal, and social life generally, and local history, are represented in these pages.

The order of the extracts is strictly chronological, each being numbered, titled, and dated, and its authority given. The text is modernised, where necessary, to the extent of leaving no difficulties in reading.

We shall be most grateful to teachers and students who may send us suggestions for improvement.

S. E. WINBOLT.
KENNETH BELL.

## NOTE TO THIS VOLUME

I HAVE to thank Mr. A. F. Leach and his publishers, Messrs. Constable, for their very cordial permission to make extracts from *English Schools at the Reformation;* the Librarian of Stonyhurst College for communicating to me a transcript of a letter in the College archives; and Mr. R. B. McKerrow for permission to use his text in the extract from *Nashe.*

ARUNDELL ESDAILE.

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# THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

## 1547—1603

### A BALLAD SUNG TO KING EDWARD IN CHEAPSIDE, AS HE PASSED THROUGH LONDON TO HIS CORONATION (1547).

**Source.**—Strype: *Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Ed. 1822. Vol. ii., part ii., p. 329.

Sing, up heart, sing, up heart, and sing no more downe,
But joy in King Edward that weareth the crowne.

Sir, song in time past hath been downe a downe,
And long it hath lasted in tower and towne,
To have it much meeter, *downe* hath been added:
But *up* is more sweeter to make our hearts gladded.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

King Edward up springeth from puerilitie,
And toward us bringeth joy and tranquilitie;
Our hearts may be light and merry chere,
He shal be of such might, that al the world may him fear.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

His father late our sovereign both day and also houre,
That in joy he might reign like a prince of high power,
By sea and land hath provided for him eke,
That never King of England had ever the leke.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

He hath gotten already Boleign, that goodly town.
And biddeth sing speedily up, up, and not downe.
When he waxeth wight, and to manhood doth spring,
He shal be strait then of four realms the King.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

Yee children of England, for the honour of the same,
Take bow and shaft in hand, learn shootage to frame.
That you another day may so do your parts,
To serve your King as wel with hands as with hearts.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

Yee children that be towards, sing up and not downe,
And never play the cowards to him that weareth the crowne :
But always be your care his plesure to fulfil,
Then shal you keep right sure the honour of England stil.

*Sing, up heart, &c.*

## EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF EDWARD VI. (1547-1551).

**Source.**—Cotton MS. Ed. Clarendon Historical Society. Series II., Nos. 1-3, 1884.

After the death of King *Henry* the *8th*, his son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales* was come to at *Hartford*, by the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse ; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created Prince of *Wales*, and afterward was brought to *Enfield*, where the death of his Father was first shewed him ; and the same day the Death of his Father was shewed in *London*, where was great lamentation and weeping : and suddenly he proclaimed King. The next day, being the of ,* He was brought to the *Tower* of *London*, where he tarried the space of three weeks : and in the mean Season the Council sat every day for the performance of the

* Left blank in the original.

Will, and at length thought best that the Earl of *Hartford*, should be made Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Thomas Seimour* Lord *Sudley*, the Earl of *Essex* Marquis of *Northampton*, and divers Knights should be made Barons, as the Lord *Sheffield*, with divers others. Also they thought best to chuse the Duke of *Somerset* to be Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King's Person during his Minority ; to which all the Gentlemen and Lords did agree, because he was the King's Uncle on his Mother's side. Also in this time the late King was buried at *Windsor* with much solemnity, and the Officers broke their Staves, hurling them into the Grave ; but they were restored to them again when they came to the *Tower*. The Lord *Lisle* was made Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord Great Chamberlainship was given to him ; and the Lord *Sudley* made Admiral of *England :* all these things were done, the King being in the *Tower*. Afterwards, all things being prepared for the Coronation, the King being then but nine Years old, passed through the City of *London*, as heretofore hath been used, and came to the Palace of *Westminster ;* and the next day came into *Westminster Hall*. And it was asked the People, Whether they would have him to be their King ? Who answered, Yea, yea : Then he was crowned King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and all the rest of the Clergy and Nobles ; and Anointed, with all such Ceremonies as were accustomed, and took his Oath, and gave a General Pardon. . . .

*March* 31 [1550]. A Challenge made by Me, that I, with sixteen of my Chamber, should run at Base, Shoot and Run at the Ring with any seventeen of my Servants Gentlemen in the Court.

*April* 1. The first day of the Challenge at Base, or Running, the King won.

*April* 6. I lost the Challenge of Shooting at Rounds, and won at Rovers.

*May* 3. The Challenge at running at the Ring performed ; at the which first came the King, sixteen Footmen, and ten Horsemen, in black Silk Coats, pulled out with white Taffety ;

then all the Lords, having three Men likewise apparelled: and all Gentlemen their Footmen in white Fustian, pulled out with black Taffety. The other side came all in yellow Taffety; at length the yellow Band took it thrice in 120 courses, and my Band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which seemed very strange, and so the Prize was of my Side lost. After that Tournay followed, between six of my Band and six of theirs.

*May* 6. The Testourn cried down from 12d. to 9d. and the Groat from 4d. to 3d.

*June* 21. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and of *Chastilion*, the Constable, the Duke of *Guise*, &c., were appointed Commissioners on the part of *France* who absolutely denied the first motion for the Scotch Queen, saying, Both they had taken too much Pains, and spent too many lives for her. Also a conclusion was made for her *Marriage* to the Dolphin. Then was proponed the *Marriage* of the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French King's eldest daughter; to which they did most chearfully assent. So after they agreed neither Party to be bound in Conscience nor Honour, till she were twelve Years of Age and upwards. Then they came to the Dote which was first asked 1,500,000 Scutes of *France*, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it should be as great as hath been given by the King my Father to any Wife he had.

*June* 22. Our Commissioners came to 1,400,000 of Crowns, which they refused, then to a Million, which they denied; then to 800,000 Crowns, which they said they would not agree to.

*June* 23. Then our Commissioners asked what they would offer? First they offered 100,000 Crowns, then 200,000, which they said was the most, and more than ever was given. Then followed great Reasonings, and showing of Presidents, but no nearer they would come.

*June* 24. They went forward unto the Penalties if the Parties misliked, after that the King's Daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100,000, 50,000 Crowns,

or promise, that she should be brought, at her Father's Charge, three months before she were twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed. Then bonds to be delivered alternately at *London*, and at *Paris*, and so forth.

*June* 26. The Frenchmen delivered the foresaid answers written to my Commissioners.

*December* 1. The Duke of *Somerset* came to his Trial at *Westminster-Hall*; The Lord Treasurer sat as High-Steward of *England*, under the Cloth of State, on a Bench between two Posts, three degrees high. All the Lords to the number of 26,* *viz.*:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dukes. | *Huntington.* | *Evers.* |
| | *Rutland.* | *Latimer.* |
| *Suffolk.* | *Bath.* | *Bourough.* |
| *Northumberland.* | *Sussex.* | *Souch.* |
| | *Worcester.* | *Stafford.* |
| Marquesses. | *Pembrook.* | *Wentworth.* |
| | Vis. *Hereford.* | *Darcy.* |
| *Northampton.* | | *Sturton.* |
| | Barons. | *Windsor.* |
| Earls. | | *Cromwell.* |
| | *Burgaveny.* | *Cobham.* |
| *Derby.* | *Audley.* | *Bray.* |
| *Bedford.* | *Wharton.* | |

These sat a degree under, and heard the Matter debated.

First, After the Indictments were read, five in number, the Learned Counsel laid to my Lord of *Somerset*, *Palmer's* Confession. To which he answered, That he never minded to raise the North, and declared all the ill he could devise of *Palmer*, but he was afraid for Bruites, and that moved him to send to Sir *William Herbert*. Replied it was again, that the worse *Palmer* was, the more he served his purpose. For the Banquet, he swore it was untrue, and required more Witnesses. Whence *Crane's* Confession was read. He would have had him come Face to Face. For *London*, he meant

* Or rather 27.

nothing of hurt of any Lord, but for his own Defence. For the Gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his 100 against 900. For having men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, confessed by *Partridg*, it seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My Lord *Strange's* Confession, he swore it was untrue, and the Lord *Strange* took his oath it was true. *Nudigate's, Hammond's and Alexander Seimour's* Confessions he denied, because they were his Men.

The Lawyers rehearsed, how to raise Men at his House for an ill Intent, as to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was Treason, by an Act, *Anno tertio* of my Reign, against Unlawful Assemblies, for to devise the Death of the Lords was Felony. To mind resisting his attachment was Felony. He answered, He did not intend to raise *London*, and swore, that the Witnesses were not there. His assembling of men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess, &c., but spoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet seemed to confess he went about their Death.

The Lords went together. The Duke of *Northumberland* would not agree that any searching of his Death should be Treason. So the Lords acquitted him of High Treason, and condemned him of Treason Fellonious, and so he was adjudged to be hang'd.

He gave thanks to the Lords for their open Trial, and cried Mercy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, for his ill-meaning against them, and made suit for his Life, Wife, Children, Servants, and Debts, and so departed without the Ax of the *Tower*. The People knowing not the Matter, shouted half a dozen of times so loud, that from the Hall-Door it was heard at *Charing-Cross* plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all.

*January* 6 [1551]. The same night was first of a Play. After a Talk between one that was called *Riches* and the other *Youth*, whether of them was better. After some pretty Reasoning there came in six Champions of either side.

| On *Youth*'s side came | On *Riche*'s side |
|---|---|
| My Lord *Fitzwater.* | My Lord *Fitzwarren.* |
| My Lord *Ambrose.* | Sir *Robert Stafford.* |
| Sir *Anthony Brown.* | Mr. *Courtney.* |
| Sir *William Cobham.* | *Digby.* |
| Mr. *Cary.* | *Hopton.* |
| Mr. *Warcop.* | *Hungerford.* |

All these fought two to two at Barriers in the Hall. Then came in two apparelled like *Almains*, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Jaques Granado*, and two came in like Friars, but the *Almains* would not suffer them to pass till they had fought; the Friars were Mr. *Drury* and *Thomas Cobham*. After this followed two Masques, one of Men, another of Women. Then a Banquet of 120 Dishes. This day was the end of *Christmas*.

*January* 3. The Emperor's Ambassador moved me several times that my Sister *Mary* might have Mass, which with no little reasoning with him was denied him.

*January* 22. The Duke of *Somerset* had his Head cut off upon *Tower-hill*, between eight and nine a Clock in the morning.

## COMMISSION FOR CONTINUANCE OF SCHOOLS, PREACHERS, ETC., AND PENSIONS

(JUNE 20, 1548).

(*Under Chantries Act, 1 Edward VI.*)

**Source.**—Patent Roll, 2 Edward VI. Part iv., *m.* 22 (*d*). (A. F. Leach: *English Schools at the Reformation.* Part ii., p. vii.)

Edward the Syxt, etc. To oure trustie and welbelovyd Walter Mildmay, Knyght, one of the General Surveyours of oure Courte of the Augmentacions and revenues of oure Crowne, and Robert Kelwey, Esquyer, Surveyoure of our lyveries in oure court of Wardes, greatyng. Where in the Act of Parliament made in the first yere of oure Reign, by the wich diverse Colleges, Fre-chappells, Chauntries, Guyldes, Fraternities and Stipends of priestes, ar dissolved and the landes and tenementes, and possessions of the same mencyoned

in the same acte, ar come to our handes and possession, it is expressed and declared that at oure Will and pleasure we might direct our Comission or Comissions. under our great seale of England, to suche persons as it shulde please us, for the assignement and appoyntment of landes and tenements for and towarde the sufficyent fynding and maynetenaunce of Scolemasters and preachers in such places where the same were founded or ordened to be kepte. . . .

And also we woll and commaund you upon the certyficattes to be made of the said Comissions made for the inquerie and certificatt of the said manours, landes. tenementes, possessions, hereditamentes, and other thinges wich are comme or ought to comme to us by the said Acte, ye do cause any of the particuler Surveyours of oure landes, or any of the auditours of oure said Courte of the Augmentacions and revenues of oure Crowne, or any theyre deputies within their several Officyes, to make colleccion of the number of Grammer Scoles and prechinges in every Countie of England and Wales that have byn kepte of any of the said landes, tenementes, or other proffettes or Revenues, which came or ought to come to us by reason of the said Acte, and of the yerelie value of the landes, tenementes, or other Revenues or proffettes which have byn chargeable or yerelie bestowed towardes the maynteraunce therof, and to delyver the same to you : and you to make declaracion therof to us or to our said most dere uncle : to the intent there uppon, by advise of our said uncle and any other of our said Counsaill, we may consider and take order for the contynuaunce or alteracion of the same Scoles and prechynges, or for the same or other, to be newelie erectyd in suche places in every countie as shall be thought mete and convenyent.

And also that lykewyse ye do cause the said particuler Surveyours or Auditours to make colleccion of all suche money, or other yearlie proffettes or commodite, as hath byn ymployed yearly toward the fyndyng of any poore persone or persons, to have contynuaunce for ever, within fyve yeres next before the begynnyng of the said parliament, out of any

College, Fre-chappell, Chauntrye, or other thing graunted or appoynted to us by the said Acte and to delyver the same to you, and you to make relacion thereof to us or to oure uncle.

So that thereuppon we, or oure said uncle, maie signifie unto you oure pleasure by worde or wrytyng how many Grammer Scoles shall be erected, and have contynuaunce in every Countie. and how moche landes and other yerelie pencions, Annuyties, or other proffettes shall be appointed for the mayntenaunce of every one of the same, and also what nombre of preachers of Goddes Worde shall be appoynted to be in every countie within England and Wales to have contynuaunce for ever, together with the stipends or yerelie proffettes appoynted to them for the same, and how many hospitals or places for the sustentacion and releif of the powre shall be erected, founded, or made to have contynuaunce for ever in every countie, and what and how moche landes or other proffettes shall be appoynted to the mayntenaunce of every of the hospitalles or places for relief of the poore.

## REPORT OF THE SCHOOLS COMMISSIONERS FOR STRATFORD-ON-AVON (ABOUT 1550).

**Source.**—Leach: *English Schools at the Reformation.* Part ii., p. 238.

The College of Strettforde was

Founded by one John Stretforde, some tyme Arch byshopp of Cantorburye, For one Wardein, Fyve priestes, and Four Choristares, to mainteign dyvine service in the paroche Churche of Stretforde. For the mayntenaunce of whiche Choristers one Rauffe Collingwood, sometyme Warden theare, gave all his landes in strettford, Drayton and bynton, by hym purchased to the same intent and Charged amongest the Revenues of the said College, whiche Revenues amounte to the yerelye Rent of £127. 18. 9. . . .

Plate and Jewells belonging to the same Colledge amounte n weight to 249 ounces.

Goodes and Ornamentes thereunto belonging, as by Inventorye Indented thereof apperyth, are praysed at £6. 10. 8.

The guilde of strettforde was

Founded by king Henrye the Fourthe, and incorporate by the name of A maister, two proctours, and one Alderman, to mainteign as many priestes as the Revenue thereof will extende unto to minister and syng Divine service in a Chappell therefore erected stonding in the middest and face of the same towne, called the guilde Chappell, whereunto belonge lands and possessions to the yerelye value of £49. 18. 8½. . . .

Plate and Jewells belonging to the same guilde, videlicet, twoo Chalices, parcell guilte, waying 47 ounces. . . .

Theare ys maynteynged with parte of the Revenues of the same guilde a greate stone bridge Leading over the Ryver of Avon conteigning in Lengthe 400 yerdes, stonding appon 18 Arches, and ys the chiefe Commodyte of the same towne and of all the Contreye thereaboute; wherefore yt is verey nedeful that yt be allwayes Repayred, or ells yt wilbe the onelye decaye and Empoueryshment of the same towne.

Theare are allso Relieved with parte of the Same possessions 24 poore people, videlicet, 12 poore men and theyr wyves, everye couple having a house and a garden Rent-free of the same possessions, and yett not above charged, and have yerelye amongest them going oute of the same landes £4 10s. allowed amongest the reprises of the same; over and besydes, theye have £4 more of the discrete provision of the mayster of the same guilde.

A free Schoole theare.

Mainteigned with parte of the Revenues of the same guilde. And one Sir William Dalam, priest, aboute the age of 60 yeres, ys schole mayster theare, having For his stipend yerelye £10, going owte of the same possessions by letters patent and allowed amongest the stipendes of the ministers of the Churche theare.

Memorandum :

Allso Theare Be twoo Chappells at ease (members of the said paroche churche) callid Byshopton and Loddington, eche of them being twoo myles distaunt From the said Towne of Strettforde, having (everye of the said Chappells) one priest to minister in them, the priest of Byshopton being one of the nombre of the guilde of Strettforde, and hathe for his salarye and Lyving all the mynute tythes of the towne of Byshopton not charged emongest the Revenues of the same guilde. And the priest ministring at Loddington afforesaid, being one of the nombre of the Colleage of Strettforde hathe onelye a pencion going owte of the possessions of the same Colleage and allowed emongest the Repryses of the same.

Anthonye Barker, Clerke, of the age of Fiftye yeres, Bacheler of Divinte, Warden of the said Colleage of Strettforde, is parsone theare, and hathe the same in the Right of the said Wardeinship, which parsonage is yerelye worthe of yt sellffe in tythes £75. 2. 8. charged in the whole value of the said College.

Hoseling People* in the same paroche 1,500.

Yt is allso a thinge vereye mete and necessarye that the guilde Chappell of stretford stand undefaced, for that it was allwayes a chapell of ease, for the Separacion of the Sicke persons from the hole in tyme of Plague, and standith in the face of the towne.

## COVENTRY AND WARWICKSHIRE. SCHOOLS CONTINUANCE WARRANT 6 (ABOUT 1550).

**Source.**—Leach: *English Schools at the Reformation*. Part ii., p. 245.

Forasmoche as it apperith [*&c.*] that a Grammer Scole hath been contynually kept in the said citie [*of Coventry*] with the revenues of the said late Guylde [*of the Holy Trinity in Babelacke*], and that the Scolemaster there hath had [*&c.*] £6 13s. 4d. [*&c.*].

* Householders.

And that a Grammer Scole hath been contynuallie kept in Stretforde upon Avon [*&c.*], with the revenues of the late Guylde in Stratford upon Avon aforesaid, and that the Scolemaster there hath had [*&c.*] £10 [*&c.*].

And that a Grammer Scole hath been contynuallie kept in Brayles in the said Countie with the revenues of the late Guylde in Brailes aforesaid, and that the Scolemaster there hath had [*&c.*] £8 20d. [*&c.*].

Wee therefore [*&c.*] have assigned [*&c.*], that the said Scole in the Citie of Coventrie aforesaid shall contynue, And that Robert Coventrye, Scolemaster there, shall have [*&c.*] £6. 13s. 4d. [*&c.*]:

And that the said grammer [*scole in Stratforde upon Avon*] aforesaide shall contynue, And that William Dalam, Scolemaster there, shall have [*&c.*] £10:

And that [*the said grammer*] scole in Brailes aforesaid shall contynue, And that John Pyttes, Scolemaster there, shall have [*&c.*] £8 [20d.].

## LADY JANE GREY (1550).

**Source.**—Ascham: *Scholemaster*, 1570. Ed. Mayor. P. 96.

Before I went into *Germanie*, I came to Brodegate in Lecetershire, to take my leave of that noble Ladie *Jane Grey*, to whom I was exceding moch beholdinge. Hir parentes, the Duke and the Duches, with all the houshold, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, were huntinge in the Parke: I founde her, in her Chamber, readinge *Phædon Platonis* in Greeke, and that with as moch delite, as som gentleman wold read a merie tale in *Bocase*. After salutation, and dewtie done, with som other taulke, I asked hir, whie she wold leese* soch pastime in the Parke? smiling she answered me: I wisse, all their sporte in the Parke is but a shadow to that pleasure, that I find in *Plato:* Alas good folke, they never felt, what trewe pleasure ment. And howe came you Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure, and what did chieflie allure you unto it: seinge, not many women, but verie fewe men have atteined

* Lose.

thereunto ? I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a troth, which perchance ye will mervell at. One of the greatest benefites, that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe Parentes, and so gentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing els, I must do it, as it were, in soch weight, mesure, and number, even so perfitlie, as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes, with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not name, for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered, that I thinke my selfe in hell, till tyme cum, that I must go to *M. Elmer*, who teacheth me so gentlie, so pleasantlie, with soch faire alluramentes to learning, that I thinke all the tyme nothing, whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because, what soever I do els but learning, is ful of grief, trouble, feare, and whole misliking unto me : And thus my booke hath bene so moch my pleasure, and bringeth dayly to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be but trifles and troubles unto me. I remember this talke gladly, both bicause it is so worthy of memorie, and bicause also, it was the last talke that ever I had, and the last tyme, that ever I saw that noble and worthie Ladie.

## A PROCLAMATION, THAT ALL COURTESY SHOULD BE USED TO KING PHILIP AND HIS TRAIN, COMING INTO ENGLAND TO MARRY THE QUEEN (1554).

**Source.**—Strype : *Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Ed. 1822. Vol. iii., part ii., p. 215.

By the Quene.

Where* the Quenes most excellent Majestie hath lately concluded a marriage, to the honour of the mightie God, and the weale and benefite of her Graces realmes and subjectes, withe themoste hygh andmightye Prince, the Prince of Spayne:

* Whereas.

her Highnes, considerynge the lightnes and evill disposition of diverse lewde and sediciouse personnes, who, seking alwayes novelties, and beinge seldome contented with their presente state, might peradventure at this time, by their naughtie and disordred behaviour, attempte to stirre discorde, and gyve occasion to breake the good and frendly agreament that ought to be nourished and continued betwene the subjectes of thys realme, and suche as shall come in wyth the sayde most noble Prince ; hath thought good to signifie unto all her faythfull and lovynge subjectes, that lyke as allready order is taken, on the behalfe of the sayde most noble Prince, that all such, eyther of his owne or any other nation, as shall attende upon hymselfe, or any of hys trayne, at theyr commyng hither, shall in their behaviour use themselfes honestly, frendely, and quietly towardes her Highnes subjectes, of all sortes and degrees, without givynge anye maner of juste occasion of trouble or discontentation to any person for their partes : even so doth her Hyghnes streyghtly charge and commaunde al and singuler her lovynge subjectes, of what estate, degree or condition soever they be, that they and every of them do semblablye, for their partes, use all suche straungers, as shall repayre hither wyth or to the sayde most noble Prince, or any of hys trayne, with curtoyse, frendely and gentle enterteynement, wythoute ministrying towardes them any manner of cause of stryfe or contention, either by outward dedes, tauntyng wordes, unsemely countenance, or by any other wayes or meanes, whereby lacke of frendeshyppe or good wyll might be conceaved.

And further streyghtly chargeth and commaundeth all and singuler noblemen and gentlemen, wythin this her Graces sayde realme, that they and everye of them do, eche one for hys part, take suche ordre wyth their servaunts and others, attendyng upon them, and do give unto them suche streyght warnyng and charge, as neyther by themselfes, nor by anye other meanes, they do presume to attempt, either directly or indirectly, to break this her Highnes order and commaundement, or any wayes to trouble, disquiet or give occasion of

quarel to anye of the sayde most noble Princes trayne : upon payne, that whoseever shall by worde or dede neglecte thys her Graces pleasure, or do contrary to the same, shall not only incurre her Majesties high displeasure and indignation, but allso be committed to prison without bayle or maynprize, to abyde there suche further punyshment, eyther by fyne or otherwise, as shall be thought agreeable to the qualitie of his or their offences, and maye serve for an example to other lyke disordred persons.

GOD SAVE THE QUENE.

ANNO M.D. LIIII.

## A SPEECH OF QUEEN MARY'S TO HER COUNCIL, UPON HER RESOLUTION OF RESTORING CHURCH LANDS. ANNO. REG. MARCH. 4. (1555-56.)

**Source.**—Somers: *Tracts*. Vol. i., p. 56.

We have willed you to be called to us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience and the resolution of my mind concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries as other churches whatsoever, being now in my possession.

First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church ; for which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them. And therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim, or retain, those lands for mine ; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoever ; and renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to the Pope or his legate, to the honour of God, and the wealth of this our realm. And albeit you may object to me again, That the state of my kingdom, the dignity thereof, and my crown imperial, cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid : yet notwith-

standing I set more by the salvation of my soul than by ten such kingdoms : and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title : and I give most hearty thanks to God, who hath given me a husband of the same mind, who hath no less good affection in this behalf, than I myself. Wherefore, I charge and command that my chancellor * (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter), and you four,† to resort to-morrow together to the legate,‡ signifying to him the premises in my name. And give your attendance upon me, for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions, according as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.

## A PROCLAMATION SETT FORTHE BY THOMAS STAFFORDE, FROM SCARBOROW CASTLE : EXCITING THE ENGLISH TO DELIVER THEMSELVES FROM THE SPANYARDS. (End of April, 1557.)

**Source.**—Strype : *Ecclesiastical Memorials*. Ed. 1822. Vol. iii., part ii., p. 515.

To all and every singular person and persons, of what estate or degree soever they be, that love the common wealthe, honoure and libertie of this ower native countrye, and moste for the realme of England, the Lorde Thomas Stafforde, son to the Lorde Henry, rightfull Duke of Bockingham, sendythe greetinge. Knowe ye, most dearlye belovyd countrymen, that we travellinge in strange realmes and forren nations, have perfectly proved owt manye detestable treasons, which Spanyards shamfullye and wrongfullye have pretended, and to this present have indevered themselves to worke against ower noble realme of Englande : we therefore more tenderlye favouringe, as all trewe Englishmen oughte to do, the common commodity and weal publycke of this ower natyve

* Bishop Gardiner.

† Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller ; Sir William Peter, Secretary of State ; Sir Francis Inglefield, Master of the Wards ; and another.

‡ Cardinal Pole.

contrye, than ower welthe, treasure, safegarde, health or pleasure, have with all possible spede arived here in the castell of Scarborowe, levyng owr bande, wherwith we thoughte to have proved in other affayers, comynge after us, bycause we had perfect knowledge by certaine letters taken with Spanyardes at Depe,* that this same castell of Scarborow, with xij other of the most chefest and principall howldes in the realme, shalbe delyvered to xij thousand Spanyardes before the Kinges coronation : for the Spanyardes saye it were but vaine for the Kinge to be crowned, onlesse he maye have certaine of our strongest castelles and holdes, to resorte to at all tymes, till he maye be able to bringe in a great armye to withstonde his enemyes, that is to overrun and destroye the wholle realme : for, so long as Englyshemen have anye power, we trust they will never submitte themselfes to vile Spanyardes. Which treason we have disappointed ; trustinge, and firmelye belevinge, by the mighte of the omnipotente, everlastinge God, with the ayde and helpe of all trewe Englyshmen, to deliver our country from all presente peril, daunger, and bondage, whereunto it is like to be broughte, by the most develyshe devize of Mary, unrightful and unworthye Quene of England, who, both by the will of hir father, Kinge Henrye the viijth, and by the lawes of this noble realme of England, hathe forfette the crowne, for marriage with a straunger. And also hathe most justlye deserved to be deprived from the crowne, because she being naturallye borne haulfe Spanyshe and haulfe Englyshe, bearythe not herselfe indifferentlye towardes bothe nations, but showinge herselfe a whole Spanyarde, and no Englyshe woman, in lovynge Spanyardes and hatinge Inglyshemen, inrichinge Spanyardes and robbinge Inglyshemen, sending over to Spanyardes continuallye the treasure, gowlde, and silver of our realme, to maintaine them for owr destruction, sufferinge poore people of England to lyve in all carefull miserye, manye of them dyinge for verye hunger : and not contented with all thes myschyfes,

* Dieppe.

she sekynge ernestlye by all possyble meanes to place Spanyardes in our castelles and howldes, contrarye to all statutes, customes and ordinaunces within this realme, that they maye burne and destroye the countrye iij or iiij times yerelye, till Englyshemen can be contented to obeye all their vyle customes, and most detestable doinges, whereby the whole commonalite of Inglande shalbe broughte to perpetual captivitie, bondage and most servyle slaverye, as evidentlye shalbe proved before all men, at owr fyrste assemble.

We therfore, dearly beloved countrymen, preventinge these miserable mischefes, have purposed here to remayne and tarrye to receve all such faythfull and trewe Inglyshemen as willinglye will worke to preserve their owne lyves, landes, lyvynges, tresures, wyves, childerne, yea, and to speake bryflye, the crowne of the whole realme, from the possessyon of prowde, spytefull Spanyardes, whose Morysh maners and spytefull condytions no natyon in the worlde is able to suffer. And therfore we are fully determyned to wythstande them in all their doinges for the defence of owr countrye, not myndinge to worke to owr own advancement touchinge the possessyon of the crowne, but onlye to restore our bloude and howse to the owlde pristinate estate, which all men knowe hathe bin most wrongfully suppressd by the malyse of Cardynall Wolsey : and not for any offence that we commytted towardes the realme or the crowne : but have always endevered ourselves, as we pretende at this present, to withstablishe the crowne to the next righteful heyrs of the realme. So that yt maye remayne successyvely to the trewe Inglyshe bloude of our owne naturall countrye, banyshinge and expellinge all straungers, marchauntes onlye excepted : and to restore againe all suche actes, lawes, lybertyes, and customes, as were establyshed in the tyme of that most prudente prince, King Henrye the viij. Wherby this whole realme of Englande shall not onlye be preserved from the tyrannie of forrayne princes, but also be delyvered from all suche powlinge* paymentes, as the Quene dothe daylye geve to Spanyardes :

* Polling, *i.e.* shearing or extortionate.

and will geve contynuallye, till she have beggered and destroyed all the whole realme. We therfore are fullye determyned moste thankefullye to receve all persons, of everye state or degre, that willingelye wil wythstande thes myserable myschefes ; and as the Dukes of Buckingham, our forefathers and predecessors, have always byn defendores of the poor commonaltye againste the tyrannye of princys, so shoulde you have us at this juncture, moste dearlye beloved frendes, your protector, governor and defendor, againste all your adversaries and enemyes : myndinge earnestlye to dye rather presentlye and personallye before you in the felde, than to suffer you to be overrun so miserably with straungers, and made moste sorrowfull slaves, and carefull captyves to suche a naughtye natyon as Spanyardes, who affirme openlye, that they will rather lyve with Mores, Turkes, and Jues, than with Inglyshemen : whereby all men may perceyve plainelye, that ever lyke as they do use Turkes, Mores, and Jues, which be their captyves, so muche more worse will they use us, and if we do not manfullye within shorte tyme withstande the pretendyd purposes. We shall therfore most earnestlye and lovinglye desyer all maner of persons, of what estate or degree soever they be, that will gladlye withstande these miserable mischefes and workes, and to maintain the crown from all straungers to the right heyrs of the realme, that they and everye of them, with all expedition, resorte to us, so well appointed with horses, armoure, or otherwayes, as they possyble can appointe themselves, for the preservatyon of the crowne and savegarde of the realme.

## THE BEHAVIOUR OF DR. RIDLEY AND MASTER LATIMER AT THE TIME OF THEIR DEATH, WHICH WAS THE 16TH OF OCTOBER, 1555.

**Source.**—Foxe : *Acts and Monuments.* Ed. 1843-9. Vol. vii., p. 547.

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol College, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of

them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when everything was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forward by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred and faced with foins such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, etc.

After him came master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze * frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet; which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding, on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then master Ridley, looking back, espied master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So, he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellously earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed

* Coarse woollen cloth.

it and most effectuously prayed, and behind him master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul. "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the Church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Ælcolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the Catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where as they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby: unto whom master Ridley said,

"I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject: that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshall. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother in law master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away: other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat: and to divers of my lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger: his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his

keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then master Ridley standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain; and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God"; and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death: I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's and master Latimer's middles: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shaked the same for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked, what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother?" meaning my master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto master Latimer.

In the meantime Dr. Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's

sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them : you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom master Latimer spoke in this manner : " Be of good comfort, master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, " In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum : Domine recipe spiritum meum." And after, repeated this latter part often in English, " Lord, Lord, receive my spirit " ; master Latimer, crying as vehemently on the other side, " O Father of heaven, receive my soul !" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse and over-high built, the first burnt first beneath, being kept down by the wood ; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which

when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper ; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, " I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well ; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God) he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, " God have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, " Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured until one of the standers by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet, which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed ; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight ; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so as to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear : some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see

his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

## INTERROGATORIES TO CHURCHWARDENS (1558).

**Source.**—Quarto (title as below), British Museum (Huth Bequest, 33).

INTERROGATORIES,

upon which and everye part of the same, aswell the Churchwardens now being, as also all other hereafter to be appointed, shalbe charged withal, set foorth by the kyng and Quenes Majesties Commissioners for searche, inquiry, and certificat to be had of al such things as now be, or hereafter shalbe amysse in anye wyse concernyng the Commission to them geven, upon whych certificat duelye made, reformation and redresse shall be had thereof wyth all convenient speede and diligence. *Anno* 1558. *Mense Aprilis.*

First if there be within theyr parishe a Parson, Vicar or Curat, resident continuallie upon his benefice and cure, doyng his dutye there as he is bound to do in al things, especially in preaching, saying Matins, Masse, and Evensonge at due tyme. . . .

ii. Item whether the said Parson, Vicar, or Curat, have been

heretofore maried or no, and if he continue with his woman or either of them suspiciouslye doo resorte to other.

iii. Item whether within the said parish there be openly or secretly any maried priest, or any woman heretofore maried to a priest, and whether they be suspected of any evell rule and evel conversation or no. . . .

iv. Item whether there be within the said parish any that doth maintayne or uphold the opinion that priestes and religious persones may lawfullye be maryed and continue together.

v. Item whether there be within your parish any prieste that taketh upon hym to serve the cure, not being before examined and allowed thereto by th'ordinary, and whether the said priest hath in the tyme of the late scisme here in the realme preached heresy or evil doctrine, and not recanted the same, or doth not now preache and sette forth the true doctrine of the catholike church, and also pray for the three estates of the catholike churche, and especiallye for the Kynge and Quenes Majesties, and also whether, prayinge for the thyrd estate, they do name Purgatorye or no.

vi. Item whether there be within the sayde parishe any that do obstinately persist and stande in any heresie or hereticall opinion, or be suspected of erronious and false doctrine, or a favorer, mainteiner or aider of any erronious or hereticall person or persones, or of any heresies or hereticall opinions or noughty doctrine.

vii. Item whether you know or have heard say of any person or persones within your said parish that hath kept, or at this present doth kepe, any hereticall, noughtye, or sedicious erronious booke or bookes, especially english testamentes or Bibles falsely translated, secretlye or otherwise, and whether ye have any suspectes thereof.

viii. Item whether ye knowe or have hearde of anye Prynters or Bookesellers wythin youre Parishe that hath solde, or now doth sell or keepe anye the sayde hereticall, nawghtye, or sedicious booke or bookes, letters or wrytynges, and whether ye have any suspectes thereof.

ix. Item whether ye knowe or have hearde saye of anye

person or persones within your Parishe, that wyllynglye or obstinatelye dothe neglecte or refuse to make theyr confession to the Priest, and to receyve absolution and penaunce at hys hande for hys offences, or obstinatelye or wyllynglye do refuse to receyve the Sacramente of the Aultare, or extreme Unction, in extreme daunger of syckenesse, or to heare Masse, or to come to hys Paryshe Churche, or refuse to go on Procession, or to take Holywater, or otherwyse doo mysuse them selves in breaking the Rytes and Ceremonyes of the Catholyque Churche, speciallye in fastynge on the Ember dayes and other dayes by the Churche speciallye appoynted, or in prayinge, or other suche lyke.

x. Item whether ye knowe or have hearde of anye person or persones wythin your Paryshe that have murmured, grudged, or spoken directlye or indirectlye agaynste the Masse, or . . . holye breade, holy water, ashes, palmes, creping to the crosse, holye Oyle and Chrisme, bearyng of Palmes or Candelles, buryinge of the deade, or praying for them, speciallye in sayinge of Diriges and Commendations, or in usinge anye other laudable or Godlye Ceremonye or usage of the Churche.

xi. Item whether there be within your Paryshe anye that dothe favoure, or is suspected to . . . receyve any noughty person or persones, especiallye to rede the english service used in the time of King Edwarde the sixte, or the booke of Communion, or anye booke prohibited or forbydden to be redde or taught, or to set forth any noughtye opinion or doctrine.

xii. Item whether there be within the sayde parish any privie lectures or sermons, or other devises, or anye unlawfull conventicles or assembles.

xiii. Item whether there be within the sayde parishe any that at the sacring time of the Masse dothe hange downe theyr heades, or hyde them selves behinde pillers, or turneth away their faces, or departeth out of the church, because they woulde not looke upon the blessed sacrament of the Aultare.

xiv. Item whether ye knowe or have hearde saye of any

person or persones within your parishe that have committed Lollardie, as in eatynge of fleshe at dayes and times forbydden, or otherwise practising or allowinge anye the opinions of the Lollardes.

xv. Item whether there be within the sayde parish any person, man, woman or childe, being of sufficient age and discretion, that can not saye theyr *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and the Crede.

xvi. Item whether there be within your parish any schole master or scolemastresse . . . not beyng first examined and admitted thereunto by th'ordinarie or his sufficiet deputie, and whether the said scolemaster and scolemaistresse be sound in religion, and of honest lyving and discrete behaviour, causing theyr scholers to fast, to praye, to come to the church, and to do theyr duties there, specially in hearing Masse and other divine service, and whether they teache them to helpe the Priest to Masse, and to saye their *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the Crede with *De profundis* for all Christen soules, and whether the scholes, especially being commen,* be faithfully and diligently kept or no.

xvii. Item whether there be within the sayde Parish any that do absent themselves willynglie from the churche. . . .

xviii. Item whether you knowe or have hearde of any in your parishe, that have bene, or is, a scold or a slaunderous person of his neighbours, or a sower of discorde and debate betwene partye and partie. . . .

* * * * *

xx. Item whether ye knowe or have heard saye of any concelementes, contempts, conspiracies, false rumors, tales, sedicions, misbehaviours, slaunderous woordes, bruited or spred by anye person or persones against the King and Quenes Majesties, or either of them, or agaynst the quiet rule and governaunce of theyr subjectes or realmes.

xxi. Item whether the Patrones and other having advowsons of benefices have sincerly, truly, and justly presented in due time. . . .

* Common, *i.e.* public.

xxii. Item whether you know of anye Patrones or other having advowsons, that have . . . covenanted or agreed . . . to have anye summe of money for the same. . . .

xxiii. Item whether ye know any Patrones or other having such advowsons, or any other persone that of his owne private authoritie and pleasure have pulled downe any church, chappel, or other ecclesiastical buildinge, or have taken away the lead, belles, ornaments, goodes, or landes of the said places, or anye of them, or spoyled anye of the same, or have converted the tithes profites, commodities, revenues and possessions of anye of the same to his owne private and prophane use.

* * * * *

xxvi. Item whether within the saide parishe there be any woman that doth exercise th' office or room of a Midwyfe, not beyng before examined and admitted thereto by th' ordinary or his sufficient deputy. . . .

xxvii. Item whether the said Midwife have heretofore bene, and now is, catholike, faithfull, discrete, sober and diligent . . . .

xxviii. Item whether the saide woman . . . do use any Witchecraft . . . or do omit or alter the laudable rytes and ceremonies accustomed and used of antiquitie.

xxix. Item whether the said midwife or other woman denieth or letteth the newe borne childe to be brought to the church . . . .

* * * * *

xxxii. Item whether within your said parishe there be a roode and a roode loft, having the images of Mary and John, and lightes before the same, and whether in the Lente season there be a covering for the saide Crucifixe* decentlye provided, and whether there be any lightes upon the high Aultare, and whether there be an image of the patrone of the church or no.

xxxiii. Item whether there be any inventory made and kept of the church goodes, and a book concerning the registringe of those that are baptized, maried, or buryed.

* The Rood, on the Roodloft.

xxxiv. Item whether the vestimentes for the priests and other ministers, and al the ornamentes for and about the altar, be kept clene and sufficiently repayred and mainteined . . . and whether there be a comely pixe to kepe the blessed sacrament in and upon the high Aultar . . . and whether the blessed sacrament be caryed decentlye and devoutlye to the sicke, the Clerke goynge before the Prieste in a surplesse with lighte in his hand, and a little sacring bell ringing.

xxxv. Item whether the church or chauncel of your parish be in ruine or decay. . . .

xxxvi. Item whether there have bene or be anye legacies or gyftes made for the repayringe and mayntenaunce of your church, or of highwaies, finding of the poore, marying of poore Maydens, or anye suche like, and the same not payde and aunswered accordingly.

* * * * *

xxviii. Item whether ye knowe of anye man that hath two wives living, or of anye woman that hath two husbandes lyving, no lawfull divorce beyng made betwene them.

xxxix. Item whether you know of any usurers . . . .

* * * * *

xlii. Item whether suche as can not reade upon the booke have everye one of them a payre of beades, and doo use the same devoutlye and accordingly.

xliii. Item whether anye Minstrels or anye other persons do use to syng or say any songes or ditties that be uncleane or vile, especiallye against any of the vii Sacraments, or against any the rites and ceremonies of this Churche of Englande, whyche is a notable member of Christes catholike Churche.

xliv. Item whether any do deprave or contempne the auctoritie or jurisdiction of the Popes holynes or the see of Rome. . . .

xlv. Item whether any playes or interludes not beyng first examined, allowed, and approved by th'ordinary, are used at any tyme, especiallye in the Lent, or upon Sondaies or holydaies. . . .

xlvi. Item whether there be any that doth use to buy and sel upon the sundayes or holydayes. . . .

xlvii. Item whether ye have procured or consented in any wyse that duryng anye part of the Sermon made at Paules Crosse there shoulde be ryngyng of belles, playing of Children, cryinge or making lowde noyse, ryding of horses, or otherwyse, so that the Preacher there or his audience was troubled thereby. . . .

xlviii. Item whether ye do know, or crediblye have heard that within any part of the citye of London there hath bene any set tables kept for such as woulde thyther resorte to eate and drynke, and whether it be not used at the said tables to have Diner and supper upon the Fryday and Embryng dayes, and all other dayes, as well within the Lent time as without, or whether there be at the saide tables any flesh eaten at times probihited.

FINIS.

Imprinted at
London by Robart Caly, wythin
the precinct of Christes Hospitall.
The vi. day of Aprill.
MDLVIII.

Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

## PRESBYTERIAN DEMANDS (1572).

**Source.**—*An Admonition to the Parliament.* By John Field and Thomas Wilcox, 1572.

Seeing that nothing in this mortal life is more diligently to be sought for and carefully to be looked unto than the restitution of true religion and reformation of God's church: it shall be your parts (dearly beloved) in this present Parliament assembled, as much as in you lieth to promote the same, and to employ your whole labour and study, not only in abandoning all popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment,* but also in bringing in and placing in God's church

* Regimen, government.

those things only which the Lord Himself in His word commandeth. . . . May it therefore please your wisdoms to understand, we in England are so far off from having a church rightly reformed according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. . . . For . . . now by the letters commendatory of some one man, noble or other, tag and rag, learned and unlearned, of the basest sort of people . . . are freely received. In those days* no idolatrous sacrificers or heathenish priests were appointed to be preachers of the Gospel : but we allow, and like well, of popish mass-mongers, men for all seasons, King Henry's priests, King Edward's priests, Queen Mary's priests, who of a truth (if God's word were precisely followed) should from the same be utterly removed. . . . Then * election was made by the common consent of the whole church : now everyone picketh out for himself some notable good benefice, he obtaineth the next advowson by money or by favour, and so thinketh himself to be sufficiently chosen. . . . Then it was painful : now gainful. Then poor and ignominious, now rich and glorious. And therefore titles, livings, and offices by Antichrist devised are given to them, as Metropolitan, Archbishop, Lord's Grace, Lord Bishop, Suffragan, Dean, Archdeacon, Prelate of the Garter, Earl, County Palatine, Honour, High Commissioners, Justices of Peace and Quorum, etc. All which, together with their offices, as they are strange and unheard of in Christ's Church, nay, plainly in God's word forbidden, so are they utterly with speed out of the same to be removed. . . . Your wisdoms have to remove Advowsons, Patronages, Impropriations, and Bishops' authority, claiming to themselves thereby right to ordain ministers, and to bring in that old and true election, which was accustomed to be made by the congregation. . . . Appoint to every congregation a learned and diligent preacher. Remove Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, a prescript order of service made out of the mass-book. Take away the Lordship, the loitering, the pomp, the idleness and livings of Bishops. . . .

* In the primitive Church.

The officers that have to deal in this charge [ecclesiastical discipline] are chiefly three, ministers, preachers or pastors, of whom before; Seniors or Elders;* and Deacons. Concerning Seniors, not only their office but their name also is out of this English church utterly removed. Their office was to govern the church with the rest of the ministers. . . . Instead of these Seniors in every church, the pope hath brought in and we yet maintain the Lordship of one man over many churches, yea, over sundry shires. . . . Touching Deacons, though their names be remaining, yet is the office foully perverted and turned upside down; for their duty in the primitive church was to gather the alms diligently, and to distribute it faithfully. . . . Now it is the first step to the ministry, nay rather a mere order of priesthood. . . .

To these three jointly, that is the Ministers, Seniors and Deacons, is the whole regiment of the church to be committed. . . . Not that we mean to take away the authority of the civil Magistrate and chief Governor, to whom we wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness we daily pray: but that, Christ being restored into his kingdom, to rule in the same by the sceptre of his word and severe discipline, the Prince may be better obeyed. . . .

Amend therefore these horrible abuses and reform God's church, and the Lord is on your right hand. . . . Is a reformation good for France? and can it be evil for England? Is discipline meet for Scotland? and is it unprofitable for this realm? Surely God hath set these examples before your eyes, to encourage you to go forward to a thorough and a speedy reformation. You may not do as heretofore you have done, patch and piece, nay rather go backward and never labour or contend to perfection. But altogether remove whole Antichrist, both head, body and branch, and perfectly plant that purity of the word, that simplicity of the sacraments, and severity of discipline, which Christ hath commended and commanded to His church.

* From *πρεσβυτερός* (elder), both presbyter and priest are derived.

## THE ANGLICAN POSITION (1572).

**Source.**—John Whitgift: *An Answere to a certen Libel intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament*, 1572. Pp. 34, etc.

The proposition that these libellers would prove is that we in England are so far from having a church rightly reformed according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same. . . . To prove that the word of God is not preached truly . . . (thanks be to God) they allege not one article of faith, or point of doctrine, nor one piece of any substance to be otherwise taught and allowed of in this church (for not every man's folly is to be ascribed to the whole church) than by the prescript word of God may be justified, neither can they. . . . The ministers are not rightly proved and elected, &c. *Ergo* the word of God is not truly preached: how wicked soever the man is; howsoever he intrude himself into the ministry, yet may he preach the true word of God: for the truth of the doctrine doth not in any respect depend upon the goodness or evilness of the man: I pray you how were you and some other of your adherents called, elected, &c.? . . .

It is true that in the old church trial was had of their ability to instruct, and of their godly conversation: But the place in the margin alleged out of the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles maketh nothing for that purpose. . . . And the Book of Ordering Ministers and Deacons, set forth and allowed by this Church of England, requireth, that who soever is to be admitted into any order of the ministry, should so be tried, examined, and proved, both for learning and life, as Saint Paul there requireth. Read the Book with indifferency and judgment, and thou canst not but greatly commend it. If any man neglect his duty in that point, his fault must not be ascribed to the rule appointed, neither yet to the whole Church. . . . Again, if some be admitted into the ministry, either void of learning, or lewd in life, are all the rest for their sake to be condemned? . . . I think you will not deny, but that there is now within this Church of England, as many

learned, godly, grave, wise, and worthy ministers of the Word, as there is in any one realm or particular Church in all Christendom, or ever hath been heretofore.

Touching letters commendatory of some one man noble or other, it may be that the parties which give these letters be of that zeal, learning, and godliness, that their particular testimony ought to be better credited, than some other subscribed with an hundred hands. And I think there is both noble men and other, who may better be trusted in that point, than a great number of parishes in England, which consist of rude and ignorant men, easily moved to testify any thing : and in many places for the most part, or altogether, drowned in Papistry. I know no reason to the contrary, and I see no Scripture alleged, why one learned, godly and wise man's testimony, may not be received in such a case. . . . If tag and rag be admitted, learned and unlearned, it is the fault of some, not of all, nor of the law : and if they were called and elected according to your fancy, there would some creep in, as evil as any be now, and worse too.

I pray you what say you to master Luther, Bucer, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c., were not all these sometimes Massmongers, and yet singular and notable instruments of promoting the Gospel and preaching the same? Whereof many have given testimony by shedding their blood.

And by whose Ministry especially hath the Gospel been published, and is as yet in this Church of England, but by such as have been Massmongers, and now zealous, godly, and learned preachers? . . .

It is one thing wholly to worship false gods, another thing to worship the true God falsely and superstitiously. But among all other things I would gladly know wherein the Edward's priests have offended you? It is happy you let Queen Elizabeth's priests alone : I marvel whose priests you are?

God be thanked, there is a great number of ministers that can teach others, and may be your schoolmasters in all kind of learning, except you have more than you utter in these treatises.

## THE ELIZABETHAN POOR LAW (1572).

### An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds, and for the Relief of the Poor and Impotent.

*Anno 14 Eliz. cap. 5.*

**Source.**—*Statutes of the Realm, sub anno.*

I. Where all the parts of this Realm of England and Wales be presently with Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth in the same Realm horrible murders, thefts, and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, and to the great annoy of the Common Weal . . . [previous Acts repealed.]

II. Be it also enacted . . . as well for the utter suppressing of the said outrageous enemies to the Common Weal, as for the charitable relieving of the aged and impotent poor people . . . that all and every person and persons . . . being above the age of fourteen years, being hereafter set forth by this Act of Parliament to be Rogues, Vagabonds, or Sturdy Beggars, and be at any time . . . taken begging . . . or taken vagrant, wandering, and misordering themselves . . . shall upon their apprehension be brought before one of the Justices of the Peace or Mayor . . . and . . . be presently committed to the Common Gaol . . . there to remain without bail or mainprise until the next Sessions of the Peace or General Gaol Delivery, . . . at which Sessions or Gaol Delivery if such person or persons be duly convicted of his or her Roguish or Vagabond Trade of life, either by inquest of office, or by the testimony of two honest and credible witnesses upon their Oaths, that then immediately he or she shall be adjudged to be grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron . . . manifesting his or her roguish kind of life, and his or her punishment received for the same . . . which judgement shall also presently be executed, except some honest person . . . will of his charity be contented presently to take

such offender . . . into his service for one whole year next following. . . .

V. And for the full expressing what person and persons shall be intended . . . to be Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars . . . it is now . . . declared . . . that all and every such person and persons that be or utter themselves to be Proctors or Procurators going in or about any country or countries within this Realm, without sufficient authority . . . and all other idle persons going about . . . using subtle, crafty or unlawful games or plays, and some of them feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other abused * sciences, whereby they bear the people in hand † they can tell their destinies, deaths and fortunes, and such other like fantastical imaginations ; and all and every person being whole and mighty in body, and can give no reckoning how he or she doth lawfully get his or her living ; and all fencers, bear-wards, common ‡ players in interludes and minstrels, not belonging to any baron of this realm . . . all jugglers, pedlars, tinkers and petty chapmen, which . . . shall wander abroad and have not licence of two Justices of the Peace . . . and all common labourers . . . refusing to work for such reasonable wages as is . . . commonly given in such parts . . . and all scholars of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge that go about begging, not being authorized under the Seal of the said Universities . . . and all shipmen pretending losses by sea . . . and all persons delivered out of gaols, that go by for their fees or do travel to their countries or friends, not having licence from two Justices of the Peace . . . shall be taken, adjudged and deemed Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars. . . .

XI. Provided that this Act nor anything contained therein do in any wise extend to any harvest folks that travel into any country of this realm for harvest work . . . neither yet to any that happeneth to be robbed or spoiled by the way . . . neither yet to any serving men of honest behaviour that be

* Pretended.
† Persuade the people.
‡ Public.

turned from their masters, or whose master . . . shall be dead. . . .

XVI. And forasmuch as Charity would that poor aged and impotent persons should as necessarily be provided for as the said Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars repressed, and that the said aged, impotent and poor people should have convenient habitations and abiding places . . . to the end that they nor any of them should hereafter beg or wander about ; it is therefore enacted . . . that the Justices of the Peace and all and singular the Shires of England and Wales . . . shall . . . make diligent search and enquiry of all aged poor impotent and decayed persons born within their said divisions and limits, or which were there dwelling within three years next before this present Parliament . . . which live . . . by alms . . . and shall make a register book of the names and surnames of all such . . . . And . . . shall . . . devise and appoint . . . meet and convenient places . . . for their habitations and abidings, if the parish within which they shall be found shall not or will not provide for them . . . and shall . . . set down what portion the weekly charge towards the relief and sustentation of the said poor people will amount unto . . . and, that done, they the said Justices . . . shall by their good discretions tax and assess all and every the said inhabitants . . . to such weekly charge as they and every of them shall weekly contribute towards the relief of the said poor people. . . .

XVII. And be it further enacted . . . that the Mayor of the City of London and the Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs . . . and the Constables . . . within all . . . the said shires of England and Wales shall once a month . . . make a view and search of all the aged impotent and lame persons within the precinct of their jurisdictions, and all such . . . persons as they shall find, not being born within that division . . . then they shall presently see the same poor people (except leprous people and bed-rid people) . . . to be conveyed on horseback, in cart or otherwise . . . to the next constable, and so from constable to constable the directest way, till the said person . . . be

brought to the place where he or she was born or most conversant by the space of three years next before, and there to be put in the Abiding Place. . . .

XVIII. And be it enacted . . . that if any of the said poor people . . . refuse to be bestowed to any of the said Abiding Places . . . but covet still to hold on their trade of begging, or . . . do depart and beg, then the said person so offending . . . to be accounted a Rogue or Vagabond. . . .

XXII. And it is also further enacted, that if any of the said aged and impotent persons, not being so diseased lame or impotent but that they may work in some manner of work, shall be by the overseer of their said Abiding Place appointed to work, if they refuse, then in form aforesaid to be whipped and stocked for their first refusal, and for their second refusal to be punished as in case of Vagabonds. . . .

XXIII. Provided always . . . that three Justices of Peace . . . shall . . . place and settle to work the Rogues and Vagabonds that shall be disposed to work . . . to get their livings and to live and to be sustained only upon their labour and travail.

XXIV. Be it also farther enacted that if any Beggar's Child being above the age of five years and under fourteen years . . . shall be liked of by any subject . . . of honest calling who shall be willing to take the said Child into service, the said Subject shall . . . have the said Child bound with him. . . .

## THE CONDITION OF IRELAND (1571-2).

**Source.**—Carew MSS. (Record Commission). Vol. iii. (1589-1600), p. xci., App. A.

### A. The Disorders of the Irishry in the Irish Pale of Ireland, and the cause of Waste and Decay of the same. The State of the English Pale: the cause of waste and Decay thereof: with the cause of Debate between them both.

First it is to be understand that the land of Ireland was divided into several Kingdoms, and so continued of long time,

until the coming of King Henry the Second, who then did win by conquest the most part of the same land, and the same gave and departed amongst his nobles and certain English gentlemen and others that went with him into Ireland, in reward of their service there done, where they both planted themselves and remained as obedient subjects to the King and Crown of England and his laws, and maintained the same. The rest of the land some he put under tribute, other some were never by him conquered, and they both so left continued and maintained their old customs, which were the laws of the Brehons, which before the conquest was used. And as those then planted by the King maintained the laws of England, and continued the same by them and theirs successively until this day, as the English Pale and civil towns doth maintain and use the same, even as the others, as well [they] that were put under tribute and they that were never conquered, as also those by them since subdued brought under their rule, doth maintain the Brehon's law as they did before the conquest, which custom they continue in the Irish Pale, who are now the more part of the realm. The race and stirpe of them this day do maintain and use the same contrary to God his law, and also repugnant to the Queen's Majesty's laws and all other good and civil orders.

So all the lords and gentles of the Irish Pales that are not governed under the Queen's laws are driven and compelled of necessity to keep and maintain a number of idle men of war, as they may be able always to rule their own people at home and exact their neighbours abroad, as their need shall require in their wars, which they commonly use and maintain against those that pretendeth any right to that they at any time have or do sometimes possess by wrong : giving neither place to law nor yet good orders, but working every one his own wilful will for a Law, to the spoil of the country and decay and waste of the common weal of the same.

The charge and finding of the men of war of every private Irish lord is such a burden to his country as keepeth the same ever in great poverty, and by that means bringeth

them that taketh most pain to most penury, and those that getteth all to gain nothing: whereby husbandry is so hard to live by as very few covet it, as no plenty can prosper, but ever scarcity, where this is used, not only hindering the good but forwarding the evil, so far that the most mischief of all the land is fed and nourished withal. This is called Coyne and Livery. Besides this they have many other customs, exactions, and undertreddinges, so that in a manner all that ever the tenants can win with their weary working the lord hath at last, if his need be such in wars, or otherwise he will take all that his tenants have and destroy them in a day: and he never the better himself, for (as aforesaid) idle men of war eateth all together.

And thus their countries are impoverished, as inhabitants having nothing left to cherish or care for (unless sometime a few cattle which the poor people are forced to drive with them wheresoever they go, for finding their Lords' men of war), they, as careless of their behaviour, become as idle as the rest, stealing by night and robbing by day, as at last stirreth them to war one Lord against another. Although [they do so] until they have spoiled and wasted one another's country, yet no malice can increase their enmity so much one against another but upon every occasion they become friends, and join their former dispersed strength in one force against the Queen's Majesty and her liege people.

### *For their Religion.*

The appearance of their outward behaviour sheweth to be the fruits of no good trees, for they exercise no virtue, nor yet refrain or forbear any vice, but think it lawful to do every one what him listeth, as thereby should seem they neither love nor dread God, nor yet hate the Devil. They are superstitious and worshippers of images and open idolaters. Their common oath they swear is by books, bells and other ornaments, which they use as holy relics. If for any greater cause they take the name of God, they seldom perform

unless to do a shrewd turn. Their chief and solemnest oath that bindeth them is by their lord's or master his hand, which whoso forsweareth is sure to pay a fine or sustain a worse turn. The Sabbath day they rest from all honest exercise, and the week days they are not idle but worse occupied. They do not honour their fathers and mothers so much as they do reverence strangers.

For any murder they commit [it] should seem they do not so soon repent for whose blood they once shed. They lightly never cease killing of all that name, although nothing akin, so many as they find ever after, whom they may overcome.

They did not so commonly commit adultery, not for that they do profess or keep such chastity, but for that they seldom or never marry, and therefore few of them [are] lawful heirs, by the laws of the realm, to those lands they presently possess.

They steal but from the strong, and take by violence from the poor and weak. They know not so well who is their neighbour, as whom they favour, with him they will witness in right and wrong.

They covet not their neighbour's goods, but command all that is their neighbour's as their own.

And this ungodly life they lead, and pass their years without amendment, until their dying day, that they are able to do no more harm, without knowledge of God or understanding of his Word, which they never hear truly taught, nor can, for lack of good ministers to instruct and preach the same : nor yet will any minister take pains without living, which is not to be had where there is neither church nor parish, but all decayed and waste, nor can be inhabited to increase a parish without people, nor anywise people will come to inhabit and dwell where there is neither defence of Law nor equity of Justice maintained, as they might enjoy the fruit of their labour.

Which is every King's part and charge, to minister Justice to his people, and the Queen's Majesty's our liege sovereign presently more bound thereto than any her Grace's noble

progenitors hitherto were, who by style had but the name of Lords of Ireland (although all princely prerogative withal) before her Highness' father, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eight, to whom by Parliament was given the title, style and name of King of Ireland, and now her Majesty's possession by lawful succession.

And withal her Majesty, under God, of whom her Highness hath received also the charge, as most worthy for the supreme government of his creatures, her people, within these her Highness' own realms and dominions, as besides Christian charity and princely dignity her Highness oweth to God, by that title to reform and direct and lead those blind and wilful ignorant people to the knowledge of God his most holy Word, to the salvation of their souls, which he so dearly bought ; as, if the Angels of Heaven rejoiced so much at the conversion of one sinner to repentance, what joy, solace, and welcome shall our most dear Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth have for converting, or rather recovering, of so many a thousand lost souls as at this present are in Ireland, ready to go on headlong to the Devil, if her Grace seek not speedy remedy to prevent the same, as by their fruits shewed there is already a great many gone to his dam !

B. The State of the English Pale and Civil Shires and the Queen's Majesty's great charge in keeping and maintaining an Army there for the defence of the same.

Who lying in the English Pale, where commonly the most number of soldiers do sojourn at cess,* both footmen and horsemen, with their double horse and horse boys dispersed in the civil shires, which is such a burden to the liege people of the same as hath greatly impaired the good state of the Pale, where they are not so serviceable : for when the Irish maketh any entry by sudden roads upon the borders of the English Pale, although the Governor might within four hours assemble

* At cess—*i.e.*, quartered on the inhabitants.

the captains for the defence of the Pale, no captain is able to assemble his band in four days, which is too late to pursue the enemy, who is gone three days before with the spoil of the country.

When for more ease and better defence of the Pale the soldiers are sent to lie upon the borders in peace time, where, a great number being cessed upon a small territory, the burden is so heavy to the inhabitants, upon whom if they but lie one quarter of a year, the poor people liven the worse seven years after. And although in war time the living of the soldiers there be such service indeed as causeth enemies to forbear that border for the time, yet is that service so dear bought as all that the poor man saveth by the defence of the soldier's presence, when the soldier is gone, the enemy cometh and taketh all away : so as between the soldier and the enemy the poor man hath nothing left.

And where a certain number of soldiers continually do lie in garrison at the Newery and Knockfargus they are also most commonly found for their provision by cess out of the English Pale to as great a charge as before. Although some more ease they find by their absence than when they are lodged in their houses, and to the Queen's Majesty an increase of charge by as much as freights and carriages by sea and land, with great allowances to victuallers and clerks, as sometime the charges is more than the principal provision so transported is worth at the arrival, and sometime the whole perisheth by shipwreck, as every way the Queen's Majesty is a loser. And lying thus in garrison, as they use their service, they are a defence to themselves only, and a burden to the poor inhabitants dwelling about them (who dependeth upon the Queen's defence), whom they daily oppress and spoil, and cannot defend them when they have done ; nor yet defence can they be to the English Pale, which is so far off from the one (which is Knockphargus) and may be diversly and many ways annoyed by the Neles, the Fewes, and others, as those which is in the Newery can neither prevent nor let the enemy coming in, nor yet rescue at their

going forth anything they take away. Nor yet can so few as they are in those garrisons be a scourge to any enemy of force, who may easily keep from them that he listeth not to lose, as nothing they can get themselves unless they make a sudden raid, as commonly they do upon those with whom they have no war, and take a prey of them : who, to revenge the same, cometh and spoileth all the poor people that dwelleth about those forts, to their utter decay and waste. As at this day there is not any way within ten mile about Knockfargus six plough land manured with tillage [or] any kind of grain, but all that province waste, where was five or six hundred ploughs before the garrison were planted there : so neither can any of those garrisons plant or sow anything abroad whereof they can assure themselves to reap the fruit : nor yet will the enemies suffer their own people to plant or improve any commodity near those forts, lest the soldiers should thereby be relieved : and so between both all waste.

And when they lie in garrison in the Irish enemy's country, as sometimes was maintained a garrison at Ardmaughe, Belefarst, and of late in Glanarme, Mountsendall, Island Sydneye, Castle-Town, Don-Lewse and other places, they were also furnished for their provision for the most part by like cess out of the English Pale as before, and to the Queen's Majesty more charge than any the others were, by as much as the English Pale for carriages by sea and land is further distant to those remote places than the other garrisons upon the borders were ; and keeping of fort in the heart of the enemy's country, they were a defence and stay and strength only to themselves in those pieces which they kept, wherein they were shut up as they could neither relieve themselves by anything they could get in the country itself, being waste, as it is always so kept by the enemy of purpose ; nor yet could they be so easily victualled of the Queen's provision, but sometime with conduct, to more charge and trouble than the rest, as was Ardmaughe, which cost the English Pale many men's lives and their garrisons lost with victualling

thereof ; and of late Glanarme, Mount Sendall, Donnlewse, Island Sydneye, and others, whereof some were lost by casualty, as of late Castle-Town, Island Sydneye, Donlewse ; and those that were kept and impregnable to the enemy were, after great charge bestowed, abandoned and voluntary given up to the Irishry again in better case than it was before.

And when in time of war with any Irishry of power, as of late with one Nele, and such like occasion moveth the Governor to proclaim a main journey for 30 or 40 days to invade the enemies' country, the Governor goeth with the army and force of the English Pale, to their great charge, where they continue out their days, whilst their victuals last, and then fain to return home again, as many times they do, without booty or other harms they do or yet can be done to a waste country, the inhabitants thereof, whilst the English host is in their country, shunneth all their cattle into woods or pastures, where they continue until the English Army be gone ; and then do they come into the plains of their country with their cattle again, where they are as ready anew to invade and spoil the English Pale as before ; as commonly they do bring with them great booties out of the borders of the same, whereof if recovery be not made by hot pursuit of some part of that they take away, very seldom or never can be found anything of theirs worth the having to be taken from them for the same again. So as by these appearances, wheresoever the service is done, the same is a charge to the Queen's Majesty, a burden to the liege people, to the decay both of them and the English soldiers, fretting one another of themselves, with small defence to the Pale, nor yet can be any great scourge to the enemy, who always gaineth by our losses, and we never gain by them, although we win all that we play for, the stakes being so unequal, viz., not a penny against a pound, for that the English Pale is planted with towns and villages, inhabited with people resident, having goods, chattels, corn and household stuff, good booties for the Irish enemies to take from us, and their countries being

kept of purpose waste uninhabited, as where nothing is, nothing can be had.

And thus the crown of England, being at charge this 37 years past since the rebellion of Thomas FitzGerrelde,* at which time the same army were sent into Ireland, which hath cost your late father, of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, and your late brother and sister, and now your Highness' time, not so little as the sum of thirteen or 14 hundred thousand pounds in all that time. And until this day they have neither won to your Majesty obedience of people, nor yet increased your revenue by any territory of ground they have annexed to your Crown, saving Lexe and Ophale, which yieldeth to your Crown a yearly rent, although not so much as it standeth your Majesty in wages to the farmers thereof that do dwell upon the same for the only keeping and defending of the same, unto whom was paid wages before 30 thousand pounds for keeping thereof waste, and could not find the means to make twenty acres worth a penny a year rent to the Queen's Majesty ; but since they have had property and fee-farm thereof, they have learned the way to make every acre worth 20d. a year rent to themselves, and that well paid by the poor churls and native inhabitants of those countries, whom they could not frame to any better use but as enemies to the Queen's Majesty whilst her Highness was at the charge of keeping ; but since they have obtained and had the fee-farm thereof to themselves they have found the mean to make of those that erst were called rebels to the Queen to become to themselves profitable tenants.

Where the Queen's Majesty's charges is increased of late extraordinarily four or five thousand pounds a year, bestowed upon presidents and judges, with their retinue, for deciding of causes, in remote parts, as it was then devised, for more ease and less charges for the people inhabiting thereabouts than to go to the Courts to Develyn, so far off ; and

* Thomas Fitzgerald's rebellion took place in 1534-5. This reference to it dates the present document as being of 1571 or 1572.

where the laws was executed but in one place within the realm, the train now of the president[s and] justices at hand is such a burden to the poor liege people of those provinces, who dependeth upon the Queen's Majesty's laws to be defended, as they are all by the same now impoverished and decayed in worse case than they were before, as they complaineth ; and saith that when they went to Develyn to sue for their right, though their charges was great, yet they saved somewhat ; but now, since justice is come to their doors, it, say they, leaveth them nothing : and as for the Irishry of that province, that are of power of themselves able to take by violence and hold the same perforce, they will neither go to justice to give right to their neighbours, nor tarry at home to take wrong. And thus all service in Ireland, as the same is yet used, is a great and continual charge to the Crown of England, no ease nor benefit to the liege people of Ireland, but pain and penury, a consuming of them and the English soldiers, as a bough with the wind, and native people fretting one another of themselves, and the Irish unreformed, or yet the rebels and enemies repressed, who keepeth their countries waste of purpose, as having nothing to lose, but living by the spoil of others.

## THE RISING IN THE NORTH (1569).

**Source.**—Record Office (*State Papers, Domestic*, 1566-1579, *Addenda*, p. 111).

### A. Proclamation by Thomas Earl of Northumberland and Charles Earl of Westmoreland, the Queen's true and Faithful Subjects, to all the same of the old and Catholic Faith.

Know ye, that we, with many other well-disposed of the nobility and others, have promised our faith for the furtherance of this our good meaning. As divers ill-disposed persons about Her Majesty have, by their crafty dealing, overthrown in this realm the true and Catholic religion towards God,

abused* the Queen, dishonoured the realm, and now seek to procure the destruction of this nobility, we have gathered ourselves together to resist force by force, and rather, by the help of God and you good people, to redress those things amiss, with the restoring of all ancient customs and liberties to God and this noble realm. If we shall not do it ourselves, we might be reformed by strangers, to the great hazarding of the state of this our country.

STAINDROP,
15 *Nov.*, 1569.

### B. ANOTHER PROCLAMATION BY THE SAME.

**Source.**—Dodd's *Church History of England.* Edited by M. A. Tierney, 1840. Vol. iii., App. i.

Whereas it hath been, by the sinister and wicked reports of sundry malicious persons, enemies both to God's word and the public estate of this commonwealth, devised and published, that the assembly of these noblemen, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with sundry of the greatest worship and credit in this part of the realm, is and hath been to the overthrow of the commonwealth and the crown, it was therefore thought good to [*sic*] the earls and their council, to signify to all and every the queen's majesty's subjects the true and sincere meaning of the said earls, their friends and allies.

Know ye, therefore, that where of late it hath been faithfully and deliberately considered and devised by the right high and mighty prince, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Henry earl of Arundel, William, earl of Pembroke, together with the said earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and divers others of the ancient nobility of this realm, with a common consent of sundry the principal favourers of God's word (and the same as well for the avoiding of bloodshed and utter subversion of the commonwealth, as the reforming of certain disorders crept in by the abuse and malicious practices

* Deceived.

of sundry wicked and evil-disposed persons), to make manifest and known to all manner of men, to whom of mere right the true succession of the crown appertaineth ; dangerously and uncertainly depending, by reason of many titles and interests pretended to the same : the which godly good and honourable meaning of the said nobility hath been sought by all manner of means to be prevented by certain common enemies of this realm about the Queen's person,* by whose sinister and detestable counsel and practice, well known to us and to the rest of the nobility, their lives and liberties are now endangered, and daily devices made to apprehend our bodies, the true remain of their virtuous counsel and intent ; the which their unjust and ambitious policies and practices can by no submission on our parts be avoided, but only by the sword:

We have therefore, of just and faithful meaning to the queen's majesty, her commonwealth, and the true successors of the same,† assembled ourselves, to resist force by force ; wherein we commit ourselves (seeing no intercession will help) to the exceeding mercy and goodness of God, and to all true favourers of this realm of England, resolved in ourselves, in this so just and godly enterprise, wholly to adventure lives, lands, and goods : whereunto we heartily crave the true aid and assistance of all faithful favourers of the quietness of the commonwealth, and the ancient nobility of the same.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN AND THE NOBILITY.

### C. PROCLAMATION BY THOMAS EARL OF SUSSEX, LORD-LIEUTENANT IN THE NORTH, IN ANSWER TO THE PRECEDING.

**Source.**—*State Papers, Domestic,* as above, p. 113.

Whereas Thomas Earl of Northumberland and Charles Earl of Westmoreland, being commanded upon their allegiance to repair to Her Majesty, have contemptuously disobeyed her

* *I.e.*, Cecil. † *I.e.*, Mary Queen of Scots.

command, and have, with Christopher Nevill, Rich. Norton of Norton Conyers, Tho. Markenfeld of Markenfeld, John Swinburne, Robt. Tempest, Fras. Norton, and others, committed divers offences, levied great numbers of horse and foot and put them in armour, and do daily draw to them great forces, abusing her name and authority to further their wicked purpose, and intend to proceed further in their rebellious enterprise, if not resisted in time; we therefore, in Her Majesty's name, and by her warrant, denounce the said Earls, and the others named, to be rebels and disturbers of the peace, and in her name command that they henceforth be reputed rebels.

And we in Her Majesty's name, do command all faithful subjects to flee from the company or aiding of rebellious persons, and do by these presents receive to her grace and free pardon all such persons, other than hereafter be exempted, as have accompanied the said Earls and others, if before the 22nd inst. they repair to their dwelling houses, and there remain quiet, and do not abide in company of the said persons aforesaid after 21 Nov.

Her Majesty's pleasure is that the said Earls and the others named, and Thos. Jennings, be exempted from this pardon, and also any person adhering to or accompanying any of the before exempted after 21 Nov., and she commands all her subjects to repute them rebels.

[York], 19 *Nov.*, 1569.

## D. Border-Ballad of the Rising in the North (1569-70).

**Source.**—Percy's Folio MS. Ed. by Furnivall and Hales. Vol. i., p. 210. Pub. 1867.

Listen lively lordings all,
and all that beene this place within!
if you'll give eare unto my songe,
I will tell you how this geere did begin.

It was the good Erle of Westmorlande,
a noble Erle was callèd hee ;
and he wrought treason against the crowne ;
alas, it was the more pittye !

And soe it was the Erle of Northumberland,
another good noble Erle was hee,
they tooken both upon one part,
against their crowne they wolden bee.

Earle Percy is into his garden gone,
and after walks his awne ladye ;
" I heare a bird sing in my eare
that I must either fight or flee."

" God forbid," shee sayd, " good my Lord,
that ever so that it shalbee,
but goe to London to the court,
and faire fall truth and honestye !"

" But nay, now nay, my Ladye gay,
that ever it shold soe bee ;
my treason is knowen well enoughe ;
at the court I must not bee."

" But goe to the Court ! yet, good my Lord,
take men enowe with thee ;
if any man will doe you wronge,
your warrant they may bee."

" But nay, now nay, my Lady gay,
for soe it must not bee,
if I goe to the court, Ladye,
death will strike me, and I must dye."

" But goe to the Court ! yett, good my Lord,
I my-selfe will ryde with thee ;
if any man will doe you wronge,
your borow* I shalbee."

* Surety.

"But nay, now nay, my Lady gay,
for soe it must not bee;
for if I goe to the Court, Ladye,
thou must me never see.

But come hither, thou litle footpage,
come thou hither unto mee,
for thou shalt goe a message to Master Norton
in all the hast that ever may bee.

Comend me to that gentleman;
bring him here this letter from mee,
and say I pray him earnestlye
that he will ryde in my companye."

But one while the foote page went,
another while he rann;
untill he came to Master Norton,
the foot page never blanne.*

And when he came to Master Norton,
he kneled on his knee,
And tooke the letter betwixt his hands,
and lett the gentleman it see.

And when the letter it was reade
afore all his companye,
I-wis, if you wold know the truth,
there was many a weeping eye.

He said, "Come hither, Kester† Norton,
a fine fellow thou seemes to bee;
Some good councell, Kester Norton,
this day doe thou give to mee."

"Marry, I'll give you councell, father,
if you'll councell take at mee,
that if you have spoken the word, father,
that backe againe you doe not flee."

* Paused. † Christopher.

" God amercy, Christopher Norton,
I say, God amercy!
if I doe live and scape with life,
well avancèd shalt thou bee.

But come you hither, my nine good sonnes,
in men's estate I thinke you bee;
how many of you, my children deare,
on my part that wilbe?"

But eight of them did answer soone,
and spake full hastilye,
sayes, " We wilbe on your part, father,
till the day that we doe dye."

" But God amercy, my children deare,
and ever I say God amercy!
and yet my blessing you shall have,
whethersoever I live or dye.

But what sayst thou, thou Francis Norton,
mine eldest sonne and mine heyre trulye?
some good councell, Francis Norton,
this day thou give to me."

" But I will give you councell, father,
if you will take councell at mee;
for if you wold take my councell, father,
against the crowne you shold not bee."

" But fye upon thee, Francis Norton!
I say Fye upon thee!
When thou was younge and tender of age
I made full much of thee."

" But your head is white, father," he sayes,
" and your beard is wonderous gray;
it were shame for your countrye
if you shold rise and flee away."

" But fye upon thee, thou coward Francis !
thou never tookest that of mee !
when thou was younge and tender of age
I made too much of thee."

" But I will goe with you, father, quoth hee,
like a naked man will I be ;
he that strikes the first stroake against the crowne,
an ill death may hee dye !"

But then rose up Master Norton that Esquier,
with him a full great companye ;
and then the Erles they comen downe
to ryde in his companye.

Att Whethersbye they mustered their men
upon a full fayre day ;
thirteen thousand there were seene
to stand in battel ray.

The Erle of Westmoreland, he had in his ancyent*
the Dunne Bull in sight most hye,
and three doggs with golden collers
were sett out royallye.

The Erle of Northumberland, he had in his ancyent
the Halfe Moone in sight so hye,
as the Lorde was crucifyed on the Crosse,
and sett forthe pleasantlye.

And after them did rise good Sir George Bowes,
after them a spoyle to make ;
the Erles returned backe againe,
thought ever that Knight to take.

This Baron did take a Castle† then,
was made of lime and stone ;
the uttermost‡ walls were ese to be wonne ;
the Erles have won them anon ;

* Banner.
† Barnard Castle, of which he was Steward.
‡ Outermost.

But tho they won the uttermost walls
quickly and anon,
the innermost walls they cold not winn,
they were made of a rocke of stone.

But newes it came to leeve* London
in all the speed that ever might bee ;
and word it came to our royall Queene
of all the rebélls in the north countrye.

She turned her grace then once about,
and like a royall Queene she sware,
sayes, " I will ordeine them such a breake-fast
as was not in the North this thousand yeere !"

She caused thirty thousand men to be made
with horsse and harneis all quicklye ;
and shee caused thirty thousand men to be made
to take the rebélls in the North countrye.

They took with them the false Erle of Warwicke,
soe did they many another man ;
untill they came to Yorke Castle,
I wis they never stinted nor blan.

" Spread thy ancyent, Erle of Westmoreland !
The halfe moone faine wold we see !"
But the halfe moone is fled and gone,
and the Dun Bull vanished awaye ;
And Richard† Norton and his eight sonnes
are fled away most cowardlye.

Ladds with mony are counted men,
Men without mony are counted none ;
but hold your tounges ! why say you soe ?
Men wilbe men when mony is gone.‡

* Lief, dear.

† " Francis " in the original text—a slip of the pen.

‡ Men of property among the rebels were attainted, and their lands confiscated ; the author appears to threaten that even when their money is gone they remain men and may yet be to be feared.

## E. London Ballad on the Rising, by William Elderton (1569-70).

**Source.**—Original in British Museum, Huth Bequest, 50, No. 4. Reprinted in *Ancient Ballads*, 1867.

A Ballad intituled, A newe well a daye,
As playne, maister Papist, as Donstable waye.

Amonge manye newes reported of late
As touchinge the rebelles their wicked estate,
Yet Syr Thomas Plomtrie* their preacher, they saie,
Hath made the North Countrie to crie well a daye.

*Well a daye, well a daye, well a daye, woe is me,*
*Syr Thomas Plomtrie is hanged on a tree.*

And now manie fathers and mothers be theare,
Are put to their trialles with terrible feare,
Not all the gaye crosses nor goddes they adore
Will make them as merrie as they have ben before ;

*Well a daye, etc.*

The widowes be woful whose husbandes be taken,
The childerne lament them that are so forsaken,
The church men thei chaunted the morowe masse bell,
Their pardons be graunted, they hang verie wel.

*Well a daye, etc.*

It is knowne they bee fled that were the beginers,
It is time they were ded, poore sorofull sinners :
For all their great haste they are hedged at a staye,
With weeping and waylinge to sing well a daye.

*Well a daye, etc.*

* Sir Thomas Plomtrie—*i.e.*, Thomas Plumptre, priest—chaplain to the rebels, was hanged at Durham for having celebrated Mass in the cathedral there.

Yet some hold opynion, all is well with the highest ;
They are in good saftie wher freedome is nieste ;
Northumberland need not be doubtefull, some saye,
And Westmorelande is not yet brought to the bay ;
*Well a daye, etc.*

No more is not Norton, nor a nomber beside,
But all in good season they may hap to be spide ;
It is well they be wandred whether no man can say,
But it will be remembered, they crie well a daie ;
*Well a daye, etc.*

Where be the fyne fellowes that caried the crosses ?
Where be the devisers of idoles and asses ?
Wher be the gaie banners were wont to be borne ?
Where is the devocion of gentyll John Shorne ?*
*Well a daye, etc.*

* * * * *

Leave of your lyinge, and fall to trewe reason
Leave of your fonde spieng, and marke every season ;
Against God and your countrie to taulke of rebelling,
Not Syr Thomas Plomtrie can bide by the telling.
*Well a daye, etc.*

And such as seduce the people with blyndnes,
And byd them to trust the Pope and his kyndnes,
Make worke for the tynker, as prouerbes doth saie ;
By such popishe patching still comes well a daye.
*Well a daye, etc.*

And she that is rightfull your Queene to subdue ye,
Althoughe you be spitefull, hath gyven no cause to ye ;
But if ye will vexe her, to trie her hole force,
Let him that comes next her take heed of her horse.
*Well a daye, etc.*

* A Kentish saint, to whose shrine pilgrimage was made ; he became the proverb for pre-Reformation superstition.

She is the lieftennante of him that is stowtest.
She is the defender of all the devowtest;
It is not the Pope, nor all the Pope may,
Can make her astonyed, or singe well a daie.

*Well a daye, etc.*

God prosper her highnes, and send her his peace.
To governe good people with grace and increase:
And send the deservers, that seeke the wronge way,
At Tyborne some carvers, to singe well a daie.

*Well a daye, well a daye, well a daye, woe is me,*
*Sir Thomas Plomtris is hanged on a tree.*

FINIS.

W. E.

Imprinted at London in Fleetstreete beneath the Conduit, at the signe of S. John Evangelist, by Thomas Colwell.

## BULL DEPOSING QUEEN ELIZABETH (1569-1570).

**Source**.—Camden: *Annales* (1615). English translation, 1625 *sub anno*.

The Sentence Declaratory of the Holy Father Pope Pius the Fifth against Elizabeth the pretended Queen of England and those Heretics adhering to her: And finally all such as obey her, to be ensnared in the same:

Pius, Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, for the future memory of the business.

He that rules in the Heavens above, and to whom all power is given both in heaven and earth, gave unto one only upon earth, viz. to Peter, the chiefest amongst the Apostles, and to the Pope of Rome, Peter's successor, a Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church (without which there is no salvation) to govern it in the fulness of power. And this he ordained as chief above all nations and kingdoms, to pull down, destroy,

dissever, cast off, plant and erect, to combine in the unity of spirit his faithful people, connext together through mutual charity, and present them whole and sound to his Saviour. Which charge We, who through the grace of God are thereunto called, submitting ourselves to the government of the same Church, cease not with all our best labours and endeavours to preserve this unity and Catholic Religion, which He who was the Author thereof so suffered to be encumbered for the trial of the faith of his,* and for our correction. But the number of the ungodly is so great in power, that there is not a corner left upon the whole earth now untainted with their wicked doctrines. Amongst which Elizabeth, pretended Queen of England, is above all the shelter and refuge of error and most noisome enemies. It is she, who, after she had possessed the Kingdom, usurping (monster-like) the place of the chief Sovereign of the Church in England and the principal jurisdiction and authority thereof, hath thrown into miserable ruin the whole kingdom, when it was even brought to the Catholic Faith, and began to bring forth good fruits. For she with a powerful hand forbiddeth the exercise of the true religion (which was heretofore overthrown by Henry VIII., the forsaker thereof, and afterwards repaired, with the help of this See, by Mary, lawful Queen of England, of famous memory), and embraceth the heresies of obscure persons; the Royal Council, once composed of the English nobility, she hath broken off, oppresseth such as made profession of and exercised the Catholic Religion, re-established the wicked ministers and preachers of impiety, abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, fastings, the dividing of the meats, the celibate, and all Catholic ceremonies, sent books over her whole kingdom containing manifest heresies, commended to her subjects the profane mysteries and institutions which she had received and observed from the decree of Calvin, displaced the Bishops, Rectors and Catholic Priests from their Churches and Benefices, and disposed of them to heretics, and is bold to take upon her to judge and determine ecclesi-

* *I.e.*, his people.

astical affairs ; forbade the Prelates, the Clergy, and People, to acknowledge the Roman Church or observe her commandments and canonical duties, enforced divers to swear obedience to her detestable Ordinances, to renounce the authority due to the Roman dignity, and acknowledge her the only sovereign over temporal and spiritual things ; imposed penalties and taxes upon such as were refractory to her Injunctions ; inflicted punishments upon those who persisted in the unity of the faith and obedience ; imprisoned the Prelates and Governors of the Catholic Churches, where divers being, with a tedious languishing and sorrow miserably finished their unhappy days. All which things being thus evident and apparent to all nations, and so manifestly proved by the grave testimony of divers, that there is no place left for any excuse, defence, or tergiversation : Wee, perceiving that these impieties and mischiefs do still multiply one by another, and that the persecution of the faithful and the affliction of the Church doth daily increase and wax more heavy and grievous, and finding that her heart is so obstinate and obdurate, that she hath not only despised the wholesome prayers and admonitions which the Christian Princes have made for her better health and conversion, but that she hath denied passage to the Nuncios who for this end were sent from this Siege* into England ; and being compelled to bear the arms of justice against her, We cannot moderate the punishment that We are bound to inflict upon her, whose ancestors merited so well of the Christian Commonwealth. Being thus supported by His Authority, who hath placed us upon this sovereign throne of Justice, howsoever incapable of so great a charge, out of the fulness of our Apostolical power do pronounce and declare the said Elizabeth an heretic and favourer of heretics, and those who adhere unto her in the aforesaid things, have incurred the Sentence of Anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ. That she is deprived of the right which she pretends to the foresaid kingdom, and of all and every Seigniory, Royalty and privi-

* See.

lege thereof ; and the Peers, Subjects, and People of the said kingdom, and all others upon what terms soever sworn unto her, freed from their oath and from all manner of duty, fidelity and obedience : As We do free them by the authority of these presents and exclude the said Elizabeth from the right which she pretendeth to the said kingdom, and the rest before mentioned. Commanding moreover and enjoining all and every the nobles, as subjects, people, and others whatsoever, that they shall not once dare to obey her, or any her directions, laws, or commandments, binding under the same curse those who do anything to the contrary. And for as much as it may seem difficult for them to observe these presents in every place where they have occasion for them, Our will is, that copies hereof being written by some public notary, and sealed with the seal of some ecclesiastical Prelate, or of his Court, shall be of as good effect through the whole world, as these presents might do, if they were exhibited and represented.

Given at Rome, at S. Peter's, the 5 of March,* in the year of the incarnation of our Saviour 1569,† and of our Pont[ificate] the 5.

## AN ACT AGAINST THE BRINGING IN AND PUTTING IN EXECUTION OF BULLS AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS FROM THE SEE OF ROME (1571).

*Anno* 13 *Eliz., Cap.* 2, 1571.

**Source.**—*Statutes of the Realm, sub anno.*

Where in the parliament holden at Westminster, in the fifth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty that now is, by one Act and Statute then and there made, intituled, An Act for the assurance of the Queen's Majesty, etc., it is . . . ordained and provided for the abolition of the usurped power and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome within this realm . . . That no person . . . shall . .

* Really 25 of February.
† 1569-1570.

maintain, defend, or extol the same usurped power or attribute any manner, jurisdiction, authority or pre-eminence to the same within this realm . . . upon pain of incurring the penalties provided by the Statute of . . . Præmunire. . . . And yet nevertheless, divers seditious and very evil-disposed people . . . minding . . . very seditiously and unnaturally not only to bring this realm and the imperial crown thereof (being in very deed of itself most free) into the thraldom and subjection of that foreign, usurped and unlawful jurisdiction . . . claimed by the said see of Rome ; but also to estrange and alienate the minds and hearts of sundry her Majesty's subjects from their dutiful obedience, and to raise and stir sedition and rebellion within this realm . . . have lately procured and obtained to themselves from the said Bishop of Rome and his see divers Bulls and Writings, the effect whereof hath been and is to absolve and reconcile all those that will be contented to forsake their due obedience to our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, and to yield and subject themselves to the said feigned, unlawful and usurped authority ; and by color of the said Bulls and Writings, the said wicked persons very secretly and most seditiously in such parts of the realm where the people for want of good instruction are most weak, simple and ignorant, and thereby farthest from the good understanding of their duties towards God and the Queen's Majesty, have by their lewd and subtle practices and persuasions, so far forth wrought, that sundry simple and ignorant persons have been content to be reconciled to the said usurped authority of the see of Rome, and to take Absolution at the hands of the said naughty and subtle practisers, whereby hath grown great disobedience and boldness in many, not only to withdraw and absent themselves from all Divine Service, but also have thought themselves discharged of all obedience . . . to her Majesty, whereby most wicked and unnatural rebellion hath ensued, and to the further danger of this realm is hereafter very likely to be renewed, if the ungodly and wicked attempts in that behalf be not by severity of laws in time restrained

and bridled. . . . To prevent the great mischiefs . . . that thereby may ensue, be it enacted . . . That if any person, after the first day of July next coming, shall use or put in ure* in any place within . . . the Queen's Dominions any such Bull, Writing or Instrument . . . of absolution or reconciliation . . . Or if any person after the said first day of July shall take upon him, by color of any such Bull . . . to absolve or reconcile any person . . . Or if any person within . . . the Queen's Dominions after the said first day of July shall obtain from the said Bishop of Rome . . . any manner of Bull . . . Or shall publish or by any ways or means put in ure any such Bull . . . That then every such act . . . shall be deemed . . . by the authority of this Act to be high treason, and the offenders therein . . . shall be deemed high traitors to the Queen and the realm ; and being thereof lawfully indicted and attainted . . . shall suffer pains of death, and also forfeit all their lands . . . as in cases of high treason by the laws of this realm ought to be forfeited.

II. And be it further enacted . . . That all aiders . . . of any the said offenders . . . after the committing of any the said Acts . . . shall incur the penalties contained in the Statute of Praemunire. . . .

III. Provided always . . . That if any person . . . to whom any such Absolution . . . or Instrument as is aforesaid, shall, after the said first day of July, be offered . . . shall conceal the same . . . and not disclose and signify the same . . . within six weeks . . . that then the same person so concealing . . . the said Offer . . . shall incur the . . . penalty . . . of misprision of high treason.

IV. And be it further enacted . . . That if any person shall at any time after the said first day of July bring into this realm . . . any . . . thing called by the name of an Agnus Dei, or any crosses, pictures, beads or such like vain and superstitious things, from the Bishop or see of Rome . . . and divers pardons, immunities and exemptions granted by the authority of the said see to such as shall receive and use

the same ; and that if the same person . . . so bringing in . . . such Agnus Dei and other like things . . . shall deliver . . . the same to any subject of this realm . . . to be worn or used in any wise : That then . . . the same person so doing, as also . . . every other person which shall receive . . . the same, to the intent to use or wear the same, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted . . . shall incur into the . . . penalties . . . ordained by the Statute of Praemunire. . . .

VI. And be it further enacted . . . That all . . . persons which at any time since the beginning of the first year of the Queen's Majesty's reign . . . have brought . . . into this realm any such Bulls . . . and now have any . . . in . . . their custody, and shall within the space of three months next after the end of any session or dissolution of this present parliament deliver all such bulls . . . to the bishop of the diocese where such absolution hath been given and received . . . and shall . . . publicly before such bishop confess their offence therein and humbly desire to be . . . restored . . . to the Church of England, shall be clearly pardoned and discharged of all . . . offences done in any manner concerning any of the said bulls . . . touching such absolution or reconciliation only ; and that all . . . persons which have received any absolutions from the said Bishop of Rome . . . since the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen, and shall within the space of three months next after any session or dissolution of this present parliament, come before the bishop of the diocese of such place where such absolution or reconciliation was had or made, and shall publicly . . . before the same bishop confess . . . their offences therein, and humbly desire to be restored, and admitted to the Church of England, shall . . . be clearly pardoned and discharged of all offences committed in any matter concerning the said Bulls . . . touching only receiving such absolution or reconciliation. . . .

## AN ACT AGAINST JESUITS, SEMINARY PRIESTS, AND SUCH OTHER LIKE DISOBEDIENT PERSONS (1584).

*Anno 27, Eliz., Cap. 2.*, 1584-85.

**Source.**—*Statutes of the Realm, sub anno.*

Whereas divers persons, called or professed Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Priests, which have been and from time to time are made in the parts beyond the seas, by or according to the Order and Rites of the Romish Church, have of late years comen and been sent, and daily do come and are sent, into this Realm of England and other the Queen's Majesty's Dominions, of purpose (as hath appeared as well by sundry of their own examinations and confessions. as by divers other manifest means and proofs) not only to withdraw her Highness' subjects from their due obedience to her Majesty, but also to stir up and move sedition, rebellion and open hostility within her Highness' realms and dominions, to the great dangering of the safety of her most royal Person, and to the utter ruin, desolation and overthrow of the whole Realm, if the same be not the sooner by some good means foreseen and prevented : for reformation whereof be it enacted . . . That all and every Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Priests whatsoever, made or ordained . . . by any Authority . . . derived . . . from the See of Rome, since the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first year of her Highness's reign, shall within forty days next after the end of this present Session of Parliament depart out of this realm of England, and out of all others her Highness's Realms and Dominions, if the Wind, weather and passage shall so serve for the same. . . .

II. And be it further enacted . . . That it shall not be lawful for any Jesuit [etc.] . . . being born within this Realm . . . to come into, be, or remain in any part of this Realm . . . after the end of the same forty days ; . . . and if he do, that then every such offence shall be taken and adjudged to be High Treason . . . and every person which . . . shall

wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort aid or maintain any such Jesuit [etc.] . . . being at liberty or out of holde . . . shall also for such offence be adjudged a Felon without benefit of Clergy, and suffer Death, loss and forfeit, as in the case of one attainted of Felony.

III. And be it further enacted . . . that if any of her Majesty's subjects (not being a Jesuit [etc.]) now being or which hereafter shall be brought up in any College of Jesuits or Seminary . . . shall not, within six months next after Proclamation in that behalf to be made in the City of London under the Great Seal of England, return into this Realm, and thereupon, within two days next after such return, before the Bishop of the Diocese or two Justices of the Peace of the County where he shall arrive, submit himself to her Majesty and her Laws, and take the Oath set forth by Act in the first year of her Reign ; that then every such person which shall otherwise return, come into, or be in this Realm . . . for such offence . . . shall also be adjudged a Traitor, and suffer loss and forfeit as in case of High Treason.

IV. And be it further enacted . . . If any person under her Majesty's Subjection or Obedience shall at any time after the end of the said forty days . . . convey . . . over the seas or out of this Realm . . . or shall otherwise wittingly and willingly yield give or contribute any money or other relief to or for any Jesuit [etc.] . . . or to or for the maintenance or relief of any College of Jesuits or Seminary . . . or of any person being of or in any the same Colleges or Seminaries, and not returned into this Realm with submission as in this Act is expressed, and continuing in the same Realm ; That then every such person so offending, for the same offence shall incur the danger and penalty of Praemunire. . . .

V. And be it further enacted . . . That it shall not be lawful for any person of or under her Highness' Obedience, at any time after the said forty days (during her Majesty's life, which God long preserve) to send his or her child or other person being under his or her government into any the parts beyond the seas out of her Highness' Obedience, without

the special licence of her Majesty or of four of her Highness's Privy Council . . . (except Merchants, for such only as they . . . shall send over the seas . . . only for or about . . . their trade of Merchandise, or to serve as mariners, and not otherwise) ; upon pain to forfeit and lose for every such their offence the sum of one hundred pounds.

XI. And be it also further enacted . . . that every person or persons being Subject of this Realm, which after the said forty days shall know and understand that any such Jesuit [etc.] . . . shall . . . be within this Realm . . . contrary to the true meaning of this Act, and shall not discover the same unto some Justice of Peace . . . within twelve days next after his said knowledge, but willingly conceal his knowledge therein ; that every such offender shall make fine and be imprisoned at the Queen's pleasure ; And that if such Justice of Peace. . . . do not within xxviii days then next following give information thereof to some of the Queen's Privy Council . . . that then he or they so offending shall for every such offence forfeit the sum of two hundred marks.

## DEATH OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1586).

### Camden's Account of Queen Elizabeth's Part in it.

**Source.**—Camden : *Annales*, 1615 (English edition, 1625), *sub anno.*

From this attempt * such as were the sworne enemies of the Queene of *Scotland*, and sought to do her hurt, tooke occasion hereby to hasten her death ; knowing that in extreame danger of safetie, Feare leaveth no place for Mercy, and tooke order (the more to terrifie the Queene of *England*) to spread rumorous speeches daily, and false and fearefull exclamations all over the Land ; to wit :

*That the Spanish Fleet was already landed at Milford Haven ; That the Scots were come upon their borders ; That*

* Babington's conspiracy.

*the* Guise *was in Essex with a mighty Armie; That the Queene of Scots had broken prison, raysed a great troope of Souldiers, and began to make a Rebellion in the North; That there were new plots in hand, for murthering the Queene, and to burne the Citie of London; yea, That the Queene of* England *was dead*, and such like:

which in those that are crafty and fearefull (by a natural desire) are nourished, and encreased; and Princes (credulous by curiositie) will soon lend their eares thereunto.

By such divulged horrors, and fearefull arguments, they brought her Majestie into such trouble and perplexitie of minde, that she signed the Letters of Warrant to her deadly Sentence, and was perswaded most of all to it by Patricke Gray Scottishman, whom the King of Scotland had sent to disswade the Queene of England, from putting his mother to death; who many times put these words into her eares: Mortua non mordet: Being dead, she will byte no more.

And notwithstanding, as she was naturally slow to anger, she had this custome, that she never would enter unadvisedly, or without premeditation, into any action: so she began to weighe in her minde, whether it were better to put her to death, or to let her live. From putting her to death she was disswaded,

*By her owne naturall clemency, not to use cruelty to her who was a Princesse, and her next kinswoman; from the feare that she had, Histories should make her infamous to posterities, and from the dangers which might fall upon her, as from the part of the King of* Scotland, *who then was the next in succession to the Crowne of* England; *so also from the Catholick Princes, and from desperate people, who would attempt anything.*

From pardoning of her likewise, she foresaw no lesse danger to ensue:

*That the Nobility which had given the sentence against her, would covertly seeke to regaine the favour of her and*

*her sonne ; and that could not be done without danger to herselfe. That her own subjects would take it ill when they perceive their labour to be lost ; and though then they were carefull for her wellfare, yet hereafter they might grow carelesse ; and that many would change their religion, and become Popish upon a supposition of greater hopes, seeing her preserved, as it were, by fatall providence, to inherite the Kingdome of* England. *That the Jesuites and Seminaries, whose eyes were all cast upon her, seeing her sickly, and not like to live long, would be so much the more busie to procure the death of Q.* Elizabeth, *to set up their religion.*

Her Courtiers propounded also to her domesticall examples, because that that which is warranted by president,* is the more tolerable : As

*what comportment the Kings of* England (*for their securities*) *have had with their competitors, namely* Henry *the first with* Robert *his elder brother,* Edw. *the third, or rather his mother, with* Edward *the second,* Henry *the fourth with* Richard *the second,* Edward *the fourth with* Hen. *the sixt, with his sonne the Prince of* Wales, *and* George *of* Clarence, *and* Henry *the eighth with* De-la-Poole *Earle of* Suffolk, *with* Margaret *of* Salisbury *and* Courtney *Marquesse of* Exeter : *all which* (*in comparison of their offences*) *dyed for very sleight matters.*

Neyther did the Courtiers only suggest these and the like to the Queene ; but diverse fiery-tongued Preachers also, tooke occasion to exercise (with all asperity of spirit) the heate of their desires, in hastning on her death. Sundry also of the vulgar sort were of the same temper, according as their affections or humours carried them away with hope or feare.

Amidst these sad-afflicting thoughts of minde (which so troubled the Queene of *England's* perplexed heart, as that she delighted to be all alone, and to sit solitary by her selve,

* Precedent.

neyther looking up, nor uttering any speech; yet would suddenly many times, breake out into these words, and sighing, say, Aut Petere Aut Percute,* *and withall, also a kinde of Emblem:* Prevent the Stroke by Striking) shee delivered Secretarie *Davison* letters under her hand and seale, wherein hee was commanded to make ready a Warrant, under the great seal of *England*, for the execution of the Qu. of *Scotland*, and to keepe it private, not acquainting any therewith, lest happely in this turbulent time of feare, some sudden violent danger might happen. But the morrow after (some sudden affright mixing it selfe with her pensive thoughts and meditations of minde), changing her former purpose, she recommanded *Davison* (by *Killegray*) to dispatch his Warrant. *Davison*, going to her, told her it was ready, and sealed. Whereat she grew very angry, saying, He was too hasty. But for all this, he forbore not to publish the matter, and to impart it to the Councell; who (beleeving that willingly, which they desired earnestly) were easily perswaded, that the Queene had given commandment for the execution; and (unknowne to her) sent presently away *Beale* (who, out of a fervour of zeale which he bore to religion) was more eagerly bent against the Queene of *Scotland*, than any other) and with him two executioners, and letters Patents, whereby authoritie was granted to the Earles of *Shrewesbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland* and others, to proceed in this execution. And although the Queene had told *Davison* at that time, that shee had a purpose to deale otherwise with the Queene of *Scotland;* yet, for all that, he did not stay or recall *Beale*. . . .

So soone as report (the messenger of this death) had brought the newes thereof to Queene *Elizabeth*, who not so much as thought of any such matter, she tooke it most impatiently: her speech and countenance, at once failed her: through the extremitie of her grievous discontent, shee became quite

* *I.e.*, "Either supplicate or strike home."

comfortlesse and disconsolate ; and attired her selfe in mourning weedes, bitterly lamenting, and sheading many brinish tears from the compassionate rivers of her eyes. Shee sharply rebuked her Councell, and chased them out of her sight, commanding they should be questioned. And as for *William Davison*, he was brought into the Starre-Chamber to be tryed. And as soone as her passionate anguish and excesse of sorrow suffered her to write, she suddenly addrest (by sir *Robert Carey*) to the King of *Scotland*, this Letter following, of her owne hand-writing :

*Queen Elizabeth's Letter to King James.*

MOST DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER :

Would to God you did know, but not feele, with what incomparable sorrow my sad-afflicted heart is troubled, by the late lamentable event, which hapned contrary to my minde and meaning : but because my Penne abhorreth the recitall thereof, you shall understand it by this my kinsman. I beseech you, that (as God and many good men are witnesses with me of my innocence) you also would believe, that if I had once commanded it, I would never have denyed the same. I am not so base-minded, nor of such a degenerate or ignoble spirit, as that either I am affraid to do the thing that is just, or to disclaime it being done.

But as it is most dishonourable in Princes, to cover or colour the conceptions of their heartes, in disguised words : So will I never dissemble any action of mine, but let it appeare in its owne lively colours. Know this for certainty, that as I am sure, it hapned not by any fault of mine ; so if I had ever intended such a deed, I would not have imputed it to others. Nor can I assume that to my selfe which I never thought. The rest, the Deliverer of these lines will impart unto you. For my part, I would have you believe, that there is none more intirely loving you, nor more studiously carefull for the good of you and yours, than my selfe. If any have suggested to you the contrary, be you perswaded, that such

a one beareth more affection to others, than to you. God keepe you long safe and sound.

Whilest Sir *Robert Carey* was on the way with these letters, *William Davison* was brought into the Starr-Chamber before certain Commissioners, to wit, Sir *Crisopher Wray* Le: chiefe Justice of the K. Bench, who for that time was likewise made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seale; the Arch Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Earles of *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincolne*: the Lords *Gray* and *Lumley*, Sir *James Crofts* Comptroller of the Queens house, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Gilbert Gerard* Master of the Rolls, *Edm. Anderson* chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer. In the presence of these, Sir *Francis Popham*, the Qu. Attorney generall, accused *William Davison* of contempt against her Majestie, of the breach of his allegeance: the neglect and omission of his dutie: for that the queene of *England*, out of her royall clemency—being unwilling that the queene of *Scotland* (although she stood condemned) should be put to death, for certain causes best knowne to her selfe, such as were not to bee sounded into by any others, nor could be drawne from her, eyther by the importunate urging of the States of the land, or by her Councell: notwithstanding shee had commanded the Warrant for her execution to be drawne (for the preventing of some eminent perills) the which she committed to the said *William Davisons* trust and taciturnitie: he, being a sworne Secretary, forgetfull of his faith and obedience (contemning her Majesties command) had imparted the same to the Councell, and brought her to execution, without the knowledge or privitie of her Majestie.

## THE CATHOLICS' DILEMMA BETWEEN LOYALTY TO COUNTRY AND LOYALTY TO CHURCH (1587).

### *Letter from a Jesuit Missionary in England to Father Robert Parsons, S.J.*

**Source.**—A transcript in the Archives of Stonyhurst College.

The copy of a letter written by one of the Society of Jesus in England to F. Parsons touching a little book printed under the name of Dr. Allen, 23 Oct., 1587 :

R[everend] F[ather], As the rule of obedience in our Company bindeth us, I sent you not long since the annual occurrents of this Kingdom ; since which time there is chanced an extraordinary cause to move me thus much to write unto you, a thing likely to breed great division among Cath. gentlemen. The matter is that of late being at M. O. house,* there came to see me divers gentlemen, who incontinent after dinner fell into disputation, whether a Cath. man might lawfully serve against the Spaniards in the present wars of Flanders. And after great discussing to and fro they all concluded unanimly † that the wars of the Low Countries was thought necessary by her Majesty and the Council in the behalf of our country and comfort of our neighbours, and that a good subject ought to look no farther into the matter, and that they fought against Spaniards as being enemies to Engl$^{d}$· and not as Cath$^{s}$· Which when we had all concluded, one of the company drew forth a little book entitled : *A copy of a letter written by an Engl. gentleman out of the camp unto Dr. Allen touching the act of rendering the town of Deventer and other places unto the Cath: King, and his answer and resolution unto the same.* In which book Mr. Allen, or some other in his name, commendeth the rendering up of Deventer and exhorteth others unto the same. Whereupon we fell among ourselves into great altercation ; but in fine

* *I.e.*, Mr. O——'s house.
† Orig. 'unamity.'

most of us resolved that Mr. Allen would never have overshot himself so foully in these times contrary to his former writings and protestations, and that it was not unlike some malicious man to make our cause odious to the world to have published this book under the name of Mr. Allen, thinking thereby to demonstrate [us] all traitors to our Prince and country. And therefore they requested me to advertise you thereof, desiring of you therein to be resolved wholly. . . .

Therefore, good father, in behalf of the greatest part of Engl: Cath^s^ I beseech you that if any simple man (perhaps of zeal) hath set forth this book under the name of Dr. Allen, that speedy order be taken for the mitigating of his indiscreet assertions. In the meantime the chiefest of our Cath^s^ have by common consent set forth an answer to the pretended letter of Dr. Allen's, declaring to the whole world they utterly defy the seditious doctrine of his resolution. Which book of the Cath^s^ herewithal I send you, beseeching Alm. God to bless you with desired felicity.

R[EVERENTIAE] V[ESTRAE] IN CHRISTO SERVUS, J.T.

LONDON, 23 *Octob.*, 1587.

## THE ARMADA (1588).

### (A) *Sir Francis Drake to Sir Francis Walsingham*, 31 *July*, 1588.

**Source.**—John Barrow: *Life . . . of Sir Francis Drake*, 1843. P. 303.

MOST HONOURABLE,

I am commaunded to send these presoners ashore by my Lord Admerall, which had, ere this, byne long done, but that I thowght their being here myght have done something, which is not thowght meet now. . . .

We have the armey of Spayne before us, and mynd with the Grace of God to wressell a poull with hym.

There was never any thing pleased me better than see-

ing the enemey flying with a Sotherly wynd to the Northwards. God grant you have a good eye to the Duke of Parma,* for with the grace of God, yf we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handell the matter with the Duke of Sedonya.† as he shall wish hymself at Saint Marie Port among his orynge trees.

God gyve us grace to depend on him, so shall we not doubt victory ; for our cause is good.

Humbly taking my leave, this last of July, 1588,

Your Honor's faythfully to be commanded ever,

FRA : DRAKE.

To the Most Hon. Sir Fras. Walsingham, Knight, etc.

P.S.—I crave pardon of your Honor for my haste, for that I had to watch this last nyght uppon the enemy.

To the Most Honorable Sir Fras. Walsingham.
With speed.

B. *Lord Charles Howard to Sir Francis Walsingham.*

**Source.**—Barrow, *ibid.*, p. 306.

Sir, In our laste fighte with the enemye, before Gravelinge,‡ the 29th of Julie, we sonke three of their ships, and made some to go neare with the shore, so leake as they were not able to live at sea. After that fighte, notwithstanding that our powder and shot was wel neare all spente, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothinge, untill we had cleared our owne coaste and some part of Scotland of them ; and then, as well to refreshe our ships with victuals whereof moste stoode in wonderful neede,

* In command of the Spanish land forces in the Netherlands.

† The Duke of Medina and Sidonia, in command of the Armada. On the 25th of July Drake, writing to Walsingham, says : " God hathe geven us so good a daye in forcying the enemey so far to leeward, as I hope in God the prince of Parma and the Duke of Sedonya shall not shake hands this fewe dayes."

‡ Gravelines.

as also in respect of our want of powder and shot. we made for the Frith. and sente certaine pinaces to dog the fleete untill they shold be past the Isles of Scotlande. which I verelie beleave they are lost at their sternes or this. We are perswaded that they either are peste about Irelande. and so doe what they can to recover theire owne coast. unless that they are gone for some parte of Denmarke. I have herewith sent unto you a brief abstracte of such accidents as have happened, which hereafter at better leisure I will explaine by more particular relations. In the meane tyme I byd you hartelie farewell.

From aboarde the Ark. the 7th of August. 1588.

Your verie lovinge friende

C. HOWARD.

The Right Honorable
Sir Fra : Walsingham, knight.

Good Mr. Secretarie. lett not Her Majestie be too hastie in dissolvyng her forces by sea and land : and I pray you send me with speed what advertysements you have of Dunkerk. for I longe to do some exployt on their shippinge. If the Duke's* forces be retyred into the land I doubt not but to do good. I must thank your favourable using of my brother† Hoby. He telleth me how forwarde you were to further all thyngs for our wants. I wold some were of your mynde : If we had had that which had been so. England and her Majestie had had the greatest honor that ever any nation had : but God be thanked it is well.

* The Duke of Parma.

† Probably brother = brother-in-law here, as often, or father of his son- or daughter-in-law.

## THE NAVY OF 1588.

**Source.**—W. Murdin: *A Collection of State Papers . . . 1571 to 1596 . . . at Hatfield House*, p. 615. (From MS. Harl.)

THE NAMES OF ALL HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS, AND OTHERS THAT SERVED UNDER THE LORD ADMIRAL AND THE LORD HENRY SEYMOUR ON THE SEAS AGAINST THE SPANISH FORCES. COLLECTED THE 13TH OF DECEMBER, 1588.

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 800 | The Ark Raleigh | 400 | The Lord Admiral |
| 600 | The Elizabeth Bonaventure | 250 | The Earl of Cumberland. |
| 500 | The Rainbow | 250 | The Lord Henry Seymour |
| 500 | The Golden Lion | 250 | The Lord Thomas Howard |
| 1000 | The White Bear | 500 | The Lord Edmund Sheffield |
| 500 | The Vanguard | 250 | Sir William Winter |
| 500 | The Revenge | 250 | Sir Francis Drake |
| 900 | The Elizabeth Jonas | 500 | Sir Robert Southwell |
| 800 | The Victory | 400 | Sir John Hawkins |
| 400 | The Antelope | 160 | Sir Henry Palmer |
| 1100 | The Triumph | 500 | Sir Martin Frobisher |
| 400 | The Dreadnought | 200 | Sir George Beeston |
| 600 | The Mary Rose | 250 | Edward Fenton, Esq. |
| 500 | The Nonpareil | 250 | Thomas Fenner, Gent. |
| 600 | The Hope | 250 | Robert Crosse, Gent. |
| | The Galley Bonavolia | 250 | William Borough, Esq. |
| 400 | The Swiftsure | 180 | Edward Fenner, Gent. |
| 300 | The Swallow | 160 | Richard Hawkins, Gent. |
| 300 | The Foresight | 160 | Christopher Baber, Gent. |
| 250 | The Aid | 120 | William Fenner, Gent. |
| 200 | The Bull | 100 | Jeremy Turner, Gent. |
| 200 | The Tiger | 100 | John Bostock, Gent. |
| 150 | The Tremountain | 70 | Luke Ward, Gent. |
| 120 | The Scout | 70 | Henry Ashley, Esq. |
| 100 | The Achates | 60 | Gregory Rigges, Gent. |
| 70 | The Charles | 40 | John Roberts, Gent. |
| 60 | The Moon | 40 | Alexander Clifford, Gent. |
| 50 | The Advice | 35 | John Harris, Gent. |
| 50 | The Spy | 35 | Ambrose Ward, Gent. |
| 50 | The Marlin | 35 | Walter Gore, Gent. |
| 40 | The Sun | 24 | Richard Buckley |
| 30 | The Sinnet | 20 | John Sheriff |
| | The Brigandine | 36 | Thomas Scott |
| 120 | The George | 30 | Richard Hodges |
| 12190 | 34 | | 34 |

*Ships serving by Tonnage with the Lord Admiral, viz.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 140 | The White Lion | 50 | Charles Howard, Esq. |
| 80 | The Disdain | 40 | Jonas Bradbury, Gent. |
| 50 | The Lark | 30 | Chichester, Gent. |
| 186 | The Edward of Maldon | 40 | William Pearce |
| 30 | The Marygold | 40 | William Newton |
| 20 | The Black Dog | 20 | John Davies |
| 20 | The Katherine | 20 | |
| 50 | The Fancy | 50 | John Pawle |
| 20 | The Pipping | 20 | |
| 160 | The Nightingale | 160 | John Date |
| 756 | 10 | 248* | |

*Ships with Sir Francis Drake.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 400 | The Galleon Leicester | 180 | George Fenner, Gent. |
| 400 | The Merchant Royal | 160 | Robert Feake |
| 300 | The Edward Bonaventure | 120 | James Lancaster |
| 300 | The Roebuck | 120 | Jacob Whitton |
| 250 | The Golden Noble | 120 | Adam Seager, Gent. |
| 200 | The Griffin | 100 | William Hawkins, Gent. |
| 200 | The Minion | 80 | William Winter, Gent. |
| 200 | The Bark Talbot | 80 | Henry White, Gent. |
| 200 | The Thomas | 80 | Henry Spindelo |
| 200 | The Spark | 80 | William Spark |
| 200 | The Hopewell | 80 | John Marchant |
| 250 | The Galleon Dudley | 120 | James Krezey [? Creasy] |
| 200 | The Godsaver | 80 | John Greenfield |
| 200 | The Hope of Plymouth | 80 | John Rivers |
| 150 | The Bark Band | 70 | William Poole |
| 150 | The Bonner | 70 | Charles Cesare |
| 150 | The Bark Hawkins | 70 | Prideaux |
| 80 | The Unity | 40 | Humphrey Sydenham, |
| 60 | The Elizabeth Drake | 30 | Thomas Seely [Gent. |
| 80 | The Bark Buggens | 40 | John Longford, Gent. |
| 80 | The Frigate | 40 | Grant |
| 160 | The Bark Sellinger | 80 | John Sellinger, Gent. |
| 160 | The Bark Manning[t]on | 80 | Ambrose Mannington, |
| 50 | The Golden Hind | 30 | Thomas Fleming [Gent. |
| 60 | The Makeshift [mouth | 30 | Pierce Leyman |
| 60 | The Diamond of Dart- | 30 | Robert Holland |
| 100 | The Elizabeth of Fowes, | 60 | |
| 60 | The Speedwell [? Fowey | 14 | |
| 140 | The Bear | 60 | John Young, Gent. |
| 60 | The Chance | 40 | James Fowes |
| 50 | The Delight | 30 | William Cope |
| 40 | The Nightingale | 20 | John Gresting |
| 5220 | 343 | 2334 | 33 |

* This and some of the other totals are incorrect; they are given as they stand.

*Ships of London set forth by the same City.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 300 | The Hercules | 130 | George Barnes, Gent. |
| 250 | The Toby | 120 | Robert Basset |
| 200 | The Mayflower | 90 | Edward Banks |
| 200 | The Minion | 90 | John Dale |
| 160 | The Royal Defence | 70 | John Chester |
| 200 | The Ascension | 90 | John Baron |
| 180 | The Gift of God | 80 | Thomas Lentlow |
| 200 | The Primrose | 90 | Robert Bringborne |
| 200 | The Marget and John | 90 | John Fisher |
| 140 | The Golden Lion | 70 | Robert Wilcox |
| 80 | The Diana | 30 | |
| 160 | The Bark Burr | 70 | John Sarracolle |
| 200 | The Tiger | 80 | William Sezare [? Cæsar] |
| 160 | The Brave | 70 | William Furthoe |
| 200 | The Red Lion | 80 | Jarvis Wylde |
| 250 | The Centurion | 100 | Samuel Foxcroft |
| 80 | The Passport | 30 | Christopher Coletharste [? Colthurst] |
| 60 | The Moonshine | 30 | John Borough |
| 140 | The Thomas Bonaventure | 70 | William Aldredge |
| 60 | The Relief | 40 | John King |
| 220 | The Susan and Parnel | 100 | Nicholas Gorge, Esq. |
| 220 | The Violet | 70 | Martin Hawkins |
| 170 | The Salamon | 100 | Edmund Musgrave |
| 180 | The Anne Francis | 90 | Christopher Lyster |
| 200 | The George Bonaventure | 90 | Eleazer Hickman |
| 100 | The Jane Bonaventure | 50 | Thomas Hallwood |
| 160 | The Vineyard | 80 | Benjamin Cooke |
| 140 | The Samuel | 70 | John Vassall |
| 150 | The George Noble | 80 | Henry Bellingham, Esq. |
| 110 | The Anthony | 60 | George Harper |
| 140 | The Toby Junior | 70 | John Vassal, Christopher Pigott |
| 120 | The Salamander | 60 | Samforde |
| 110 | The Rose Lion | 60 | Barnaby Acton |
| 120 | The Antelope | 60 | Dennison |
| 120 | The Jewel | 60 | Rowell |
| 160 | The Pawnses [? Pansies] | 80 | William Butler |
| 130 | The Providence | 70 | Richard Chester |
| 160 | The Dolphin | 70 | William Hare |
| 6130 | 38 | 3020 | |

## *Coasters with the Lord Admiral.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 80 | The Bark Webbe | 40 | Nicholas Webbe |
| 150 | The John Trelawney | 70 | Thomas Meeke |
| 60 | The Hart of Dartmouth | 30 | James Haughton |
| 180 | The Bark Pottes | 80 | Anthony Pottes |
| 40 | The Little John | 20 | Lawrence Clayton |
| 130 | The Bartholomew | 70 | Nicholas Wright |
| 110 | The Rose of Apsam | 60 | Thomas Sandie |
| 25 | The Gift of Apsam | 20 | |
| 90 | The Jacob of Lyme | 40 | |
| 60 | The Revenge of Lyme | 30 | Richard Bedscodge |
| 70 | The Win of Bridgewater | 40 | John Smith |
| 140 | The Cresset of Dartmouth | 70 | |
| 100 | The Galleon of Weymouth | 50 | Richard Wheeler |
| 66 | The Katherine ditto | 30 | |
| 70 | The John of Chichester | 40 | John Young |
| 60 | The Hearty Anne | 30 | John Wynnal |
| 230 | The Minion of Bristol | 100 | John Sachfield |
| 80 | The Handmaid of ditto | 40 | James Langton |
| 60 | The Aid of ditto | 30 | Christopher Pitt |
| | The Unicorn of ditto | 70 | William Wreger |
| 1930 | 20 | 960 | |

## *Coasters with the Lord Henry Seymour.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 160 | The Daniel | 70 | Robert Johnson |
| 150 | The Galleon Hutchins | 70 | Thomas Tucker |
| 150 | The Bark Lane | 70 | Leonard Harwell |
| 60 | The Fancy | 30 | Richard Fearne |
| 70 | The Griffin | 40 | John Thompson |
| 50 | The Little Hare | 30 | Matthew Railston |
| 75 | The Handmaid | 40 | John Gattenbury |
| 150 | The Marygold | 70 | Francis Johnson |
| 35 | The Matthew | 20 | Richard Mitchel |
| 40 | The Susan | 20 | John Musgrave |
| 140 | The William of Ipswich | 70 | Barnaby Lowe |
| 125 | The Katherine | 60 | Thomas Grimble |
| 120 | The Primrose | 60 | John Cordwell |
| 60 | The Anne Bonaventure | 30 | John Conny |
| 80 | The William of Rye | 40 | William Coxon |
| 50 | The Grace of God | 20 | William Fordred |
| 120 | The Ellnatchen of Dover | 70 | John Lydgen |
| 110 | The Robin | 60 | William Cripps |
| 38 | The Hazard | 20 | Nicholas Tornor [? Turner] |
| 150 | The Grace of Yarmouth | 70 | William Musgrave |
| 150 | The May Flower | 70 | Alexander Musgrave |
| 100 | The William of Bricklesey | 50 | Thomas Lambert |
| 60 | The John Young | 30 | Reynold Veazey |
| 2248 | 23 | 1210 | |

*Voluntary Ships with the Lord Admiral.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 140 | The Francis of Fowey | 70 | John Rashley |
| 300 | The Sampson | 120 | John Wingfield |
| 60 | The Heathen of Weymouth | 30 | |
| 120 | The Golden Ryal ditto | 70 | |
| 70 | The Bark Sutton ditto | 30 | Hugh Preston |
| 50 | The Carouse | 30 | |
| 250 | The Samaritan | 100 | |
| 120 | The William of Plymouth | 60 | |
| 30 | The Galego ditto | 20 | |
| 60 | The Bark Hawlfe | 30 | Grinfield Hawlfe |
| 76 | The Unicorn of Dartmouth | 30 | |
| 100 | The Grace of Apsam | 50 | Walter Edney |
| 60 | The Thomas Bonaventure | 30 | John Pentyre |
| 80 | The Rat | 40 | Gilbert Ley |
| 60 | The Margaret | 30 | William Hubbard |
| 40 | The Elizabeth | 20 | |
| 40 | The Raphael | 20 | |
| 60 | The Flyboat | 40 | |
| 1716 | 18 | 820 | |

*Fifteen Ships that transported Victuals Westward.*

| Tonnage. | Ships. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 119 | The Elizabeth Bonaventure | 30 | Richard Startoppe |
| 112 | The Pelican | 30 | John Clarke |
| 107 | The Hope | 30 | John Skinner |
| 110 | The Unity | 30 | John Moore |
| 114 | The Pearl | 30 | Lawrence Mower |
| 115 | The Elizabeth of Lee | 30 | William Bower |
| 100 | The John of London | 25 | Richard Rose |
| 110 | The Bersabee | 22 | Edward Bryan |
| 80 | The Marygold | 30 | Robert Bowers |
| 130 | The White Hind | 30 | Richard Browne |
| 120 | The Gift of God | 30 | Robert Harrison |
| 115 | The Jonas | 30 | Edward Bell |
| 160 | The Salomon | 40 | George Streat |
| 120 | The Richard Duffylde | 25 | William Adams |
| 180 | The Mary Rose | 40 | William Parker |
| 1795 | 15 | 455 | 15 |

*An Abstract of this Book in Total.*

| | Ships. | Tonnage. | Men. | Captains. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ships and vessels of her Majesty's | 34 | 12190 | 6225 | 34 |
| Ships serving by tonnage with the Lord Admiral .. .. .. | 10 | 756 | 248 | |
| Ships with Sir Francis Drake .. | 33 | 5220 | 2334 | 33 |
| Ships sent out by the City of London | 33 | 6130 | 3020 | 38 |
| Coasters with the Lord Admiral .. | 20 | 1930 | 960 | |
| Coasters with the Lord Henry Seymour .. .. .. .. | 23 | 2248 | 1210 | 23 |
| Ships that transported Victuals Westward .. .. .. | 15 | 1795 | 455 | 15 |
| Voluntary Ships with the Lord Admiral .. .. .. .. | 18 | 1716 | 820 | |
| Summa Totalis .. .. | 191 | 31985 | 15272 | |

## THE LAST FIGHT OF THE REVENGE (1591).

**Source.**—Richard Hakluyt: *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . within the compass of these* 1500 *years.* 1598-1600. Vol. ii., part ii., p. 169.

A report of the truth about the fight about the Isles of Azores, the last of August, 1591, betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majesty's ships, and an Armada of the King of Spain; penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh knight.

* * * * *

The Lord Thomas Howard with six of her Majesty's ships, six victuallers of London, the Bark Raleigh and two or three other pinnaces, riding at anchor near unto Flores, one of the westerly Islands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoon, had intelligence by one Captain Middleton of the approach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer, had kept them company three days

before, of good purpose, both to discover their forces the more, as also to give advice to my Lord Thomas of their approach. He had no sooner delivered the news but the fleet was in sight: many of our ship's companies were on shore in the island, some providing ballast for their ships, others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money or by force recover. By reason whereof our ships being all pestered,* and rummaging, everything out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disadvantage, the one half part of the men of every ship sick and utterly unserviceable; for in the Revenge there were ninety men diseased, in the Bonaventure not so many in health as could handle her mainsail. For had not twenty been taken out of a bark of Sir George Carey's, his being commanded to be sunk, and those appointed to her, she had hardly ever recovered England. The rest for the most part were in little better state. The names of her Majesty's ships were these as followeth: the Defiance, which was Admiral, the Revenge Vice-admiral, the Bonaventure commanded by Captain Cross, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by M. Thomas Vavasour, and the Crane by Duffild, the Foresight and the Crane being but small ships, only the other were of middle size, the rest, besides † the Bark Ralegh, commanded by Captain Thin, were victuallers, and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet, having shrouded their approach by reason of the island, were now so soon at hand as our ships had scarce time to weigh their anchors, but some of them were driven to let slip their cables and set sail. Sir Richard Grenville was the last that weighed, to recover the men that were upon the island, which otherwise had been lost. The Lord Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Grenville not being able to do was persuaded by the master and others to cut his mainsail and cast about, and to trust to the sailing of the ship, for the squadron of Seville were on his weather-bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused

* Encumbered. † Except.

to turn from the enemy, alleging that he would rather choose to die than to dishonour himself, his country and her Majesty's ship, persuading his company that he would pass through the two squadrons in despite of them, and enforce those of Seville to give him way. Which he performed upon divers of the foremost, who, as the mariners term it, sprang their luff, and fell under the lee of the Revenge. But the other course had been the better, and might right well have been answered in so great an impossibility of prevailing. Notwithstanding, out of the greatness of his mind, he could not be persuaded. In the meanwhile as he attended * those which were nearest him, the great San Philip, being in the wind of him and coming towards him, becalmed his sails in such sort as the ship could neither make way nor feel the helm: so huge and high carried was the Spanish ship, being of a thousand and five hundred tons. Who after laid the Revenge aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sails, the ships that were under his lee also luffing up laid him aboard, of which the next was the Admiral of the Biscayans, a very mighty and puissant ship commanded by Brittandona. The said Philip carried three tier of ordnance on a side, and eleven pieces in every tier. She shot eight forth right out of her chase,† besides those of her stern ports.

After the Revenge was entangled with this Philip, four others boarded her, two on her larboard, and two on her starboard. The fight thus beginning at three o'clock in the afternoon, continued very terrible all that evening. But the great San Philip, having received the lower tier of the Revenge, discharged with crossbar-shot, shifted herself with all diligence from her sides, utterly misliking her first entertainment. Some say that the ship foundered, but we cannot report it for true, unless we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of soldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners, in some five, in others eight hundred. In ours there were none at all besides the mariners but the servants of the Commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen only. After

* Awaited. † Chase = the guns in the bows.

many interchanged volleys of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Revenge, and made divers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed soldiers and musketeers, but were still repulsed again and again, and at all times beaten back into their own ships or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight the George Noble of London, having received some shot through her by the Armadas, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force: Sir Richard bade him save himself and leave him to his fortune. After the fight had thus without intermission continued while the day lasted and some hours of the night, many of our men were slain and hurt, and one of the great galleons of the Armada and the Admiral of the hulks both sunk, and in many other of the Spanish ships great slaughter was made. Some write that Sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight and lay speechless for a time ere he recovered. But two of the Revenge's own company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Islands, examined by some of the Lords and others, affirmed that he was never so wounded as that he forsook the upper deck, till an hour before midnight, and then being shot into the body with a musket as he was addressing, was again shot into the head, and withal his Chirurgeon wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by Sir Francis Godolphin of four other mariners of the same ship being returned, which examination the said Sir Francis sent unto master William Killigrew of her Majesty's Privy Chamber.

But to return to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to board the Revenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so always others came in their places, she having never less than two mighty galleons by her sides and aboard her; so that ere the morning, from three of the clock the day before, there had fifteen several Armadas assailed her, and all so ill approved their entertainment, as they were by the break of day far more willing to hearken to a composition than hastily

to make any more assaults or entries. But as the day increased, so our men decreased, and as the light grew more and more, by so much more grew our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, saving one small ship called the Pilgrim, commanded by Jacob Whiddon, who hovered all night to see the success,* but in the morning bearing with the Revenge, was hunted like a hare among many ravenous hounds, but escaped.

All the powder of the Revenge to the last barrel was now spent, all her pikes broken, forty of her best men slain, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight she had but one hundred free from sickness, and fourscore and ten sick, laid in hold upon the ballast. A small troop to man such a ship, and a weak garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volleys, boardings and enterings of fifteen ships of war, besides those which beat her at large. On the contrary the Spanish were always supplied with soldiers brought from every squadron ; all manner of arms and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons, the masts all beaten overboard, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper work altogether razed, and in effect evened she was with the water, but the very foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left overhead either for flight or defence. Sir Richard, finding himself in this distress, and unable any longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteen hours fight the assault of fifteen several Armadas, all by turns aboard him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillery, besides many assaults and entries ; and that himself and the ship must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (the Revenge not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billow of the sea) commanded the master gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sink the ship, that thereby nothing might remain of glory or victory to the Spaniards : seeing in so many hours

* Result.

fight and with so great a navy they were not able to take her, having had fifteen hours' time, above ten thousand men, and fifty-and-three sail of men-of-war to perform it withal; and persuaded the company, or as many as he could induce, to yield themselves unto God and to the mercy of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their nation, by prolonging their own lives for a few hours or a few days. The master gunner readily condescended, and divers others; but the Captain and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to have care of them: alleging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertain a composition as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being divers sufficient and valiant men yet living, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their country and prince acceptable service hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleged that the Spaniards should never glory to have taken one ship of Her Majesty, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves, they answered, that the ship had six foot water in hold, three shot under water, which were so weakly stopped as with the first working of the sea she must need sink, and was besides so crushed and bruised as she could never be removed out of the place.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Richard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons, the Master of the Revenge (while the Captain won unto him the greater party) was convoyed aboard the General Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none over hasty to enter the Revenge again, doubting lest Sir Richard would have blown them up and himself, and perceiving by the report of the Master of the Revenge his dangerous disposition) yielded that all their lives should be saved, the company sent for England, and the better sort to pay such reasonable ransom as their estate would bear, and in the mean season to be free from galley or imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended, as well, as I have said, for fear of further loss and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recover Sir

Richard Grenville, whom for his notable valour he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safety of life was promised, the common sort being now at the end of their peril, the most drew back from Sir Richard and the master gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The master gunner, finding himself and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would have slain himself with a sword, had he not been by force withheld and locked into his cabin. Then the General sent many boats aboard the Revenge, and divers of our men, fearing Sir Richard's disposition, stole away aboard the General and other ships. Sir Richard, thus overmatched, was sent unto by Alfonso Baçan to remove out of the Revenge, the ship being marvellous unsavoury, filled with blood, and bodies of dead, and wounded men, like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that he might do with his body what he list, for he esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the ship he swounded, and reviving again desired the company to pray for him. The General used Sir Richard with all humanity, and left nothing unattempted that tended to his recovery, highly commending his valour and worthiness, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being unto them a rare spectacle and a resolution seldom approved* to see one ship turn towards so many enemies, to endure the charge and boarding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repel the assaults and entries of so many soldiers. All which and more is confirmed by a Spanish captain of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who, being severed from the rest in a storm, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London. . . .

The Admiral of the Hulks and the Ascension of Seville were both sunk by the side of the Revenge ; one other recovered the Road of St. Michael and sunk also there ; a fourth ran herself with the shore to save her men. Sir Richard died, as it is said, the second or third day aboard the General, and was by

* Experienced.

them greatly bewailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends is that he hath ended his life honourably in respect to the reputation won to his nation and country, and of the same to his posterity, and that, being dead, he hath not overlived his own honour. . . .

A few days after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and Indy ships, there arose so great a storm from the West and North-west, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival, of which fourteen sail, together with the Revenge, were cast away upon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honour the burial of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she achieved in her life-time.

## THE EARL OF ESSEX: HIS APOLOGY TO THE LORDS OF HER MAJESTY'S COUNCIL, AFTER HE HAD BEEN PRISONER IN THE LORD KEEPER'S HOUSE (1600).

**Source.**—Carew MSS. (Record Commission). Vol. iii., p. 518.

If it be objected that I came away and left my charge contrary to her Majesty's express commandment, so accompanied as it made my intent suspected, leaving the government of the Kingdom unsettled, whereupon great inconveniences have grown, and the whole State of Ireland was hazarded, I answer first that (thanks be to God) no dangerous consequence hath followed of it. For during nine or ten weeks after my coming hither the whole kingdom was quiet; and since, even to this day, no important loss hath been received, but only the defeating of a convoy in an open champion* country, where our men had safe and near retreats both before them and behind them. So as since the declination of that State I think there will be hardly found so long a time wherein the rebel did less mischief or the subject received

* Champaign.

less loss; which I must impute to the providence of God Almighty in his mercy, who, foreseeing the unjust imputations and malicious inferences that would be brought against me, hath disfurnished my enemies of that they thought should have been their greatest advantage, which was charging me with the loss of Ireland, though it happened long after my coming over, and though I had remained close prisoner, while they had time to prevent the mischief.

And for my settling of the government before my coming away, if this will not satisfy that I ordered her Majesty's forces, employed her ablest ministers, and gave particular instructions for every province and frontier, by advice of her Majesty's Council there: yet I am sure in this Court this one plea will be allowed, that I so ordered all things, as you, my Lords of the Council, having received account of me when I was first committed, have not to this day altered anything of importance in that course of government which I established at my coming away, generally for the kingdom and particularly for every province.

And now, having said enough for the consequence and opportunity of my coming over, I desire to know why my coming should be suspiciously apprehended. Out of Ireland there came in the same passage with me, my Lord of Southampton that was displaced, my Lord of Dunkilline, and Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, that, in this vacancy of offers and time of truce, desired by their own presence to renew the memory of their former services; Sir Henry Davers, that was not through whole * of a dangerous wound; Sir Henry Dockwrey, that was before I came away . . . to sue for the government of Connaught; and some other knights and captains that were discharged, besides two captains that pretended great business and long absence, and some gentlemen that were my own servants, that were out of pay by the discharging of Sir John Lee's company. But of all these, there were not ten persons that accompanied me (from the sea's side) any part of the way, and not above six that came to the Court, the rest taking their own courses and intending their private occasions.

* Thoroughly healed.

But should my evil intent be ?* It was as easy for me to do evil as to think evil when I had a kingdom in my government and an army in my hand. And the evil I did was but to myself, for I wasted both my body and state in a costly, painful and discomfortable service. And now, having stripped myself of all, and thrown myself at my Sovereign's feet, shall enemies or accusations prevail against demonstration, to make my intent of coming over to be held suspect ? Justice and charity will not allow of these constructions made of those whose religion or descent might make them suspected, except they enforce probable grounds : and shall I (without any ground) be thus censured, who have lost my father and my brother in her Majesty's service, spent 13 of my 33 years as an officer about her Majesty's person, and seven years as a poor councillor of her State, that am of all the subjects of England most hated by all the enemies of her Majesty's religion and welfare, and for my services to her person and to her crown am so threatened with revenge as no place is safe for me but her kingdom, nor no time but her reign ? No ! I thank my God I know there doth neither good Christian nor lover of his country suspect my intent. And for the imputations of the rest, I answer them with the old rule, *ut quisque est . . . bonus et sic e contra.* And now it appears that I settled the State before my coming away, and that there grew no dangerous consequence by my coming over.

## QUEEN ELIZABETH'S SPEECH TO HER LAST PARLIAMENT, IN ANSWER TO THE COMMONS' THANKS TO HER FOR SUPPRESSING THE "ENGROSSING" OR MONOPOLIES, NOVEMBER 30, 1601.

**Source.**—*Somers Tracts* (from MS. of Bishop of Bangor).† Vol. i., p. 244

Her Majesty being set under state in the Council Chamber at White Hall, the Speaker, accompanied with Privy Coun-

* *I.e.*, Suppose my intent were evil.

† Another version is given in Sir Symonds D'Ewes' *Journals of all he Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.*

cellors, besides Knights and Burgesses of the Lower House to the number of eight score presenting themselves at her Majesty's feet, for that so graciously and speedily she had heard and yielded to her subjects' desires, and proclaimed the same in their hearing as followeth :

Mr. Speaker,

We perceive your coming is to present thanks unto us. Know I accept them with no less joy than your loves can have desire to offer such a present, and do more esteem it than any treasure or riches ; for those we know how to prize, but loyalty, love, and thanks, I account them invaluable ; and though God hath raised me high, yet this I account the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a people, and to be the means under God to conserve you in safety and preserve you from danger, yea, to be the instrument to deliver you from dishonour, from shame, and from infamy ; to keep you from out of servitude, and from slavery under our enemies, and cruel tyranny and vile oppression intended against us ; for the better withstanding whereof we take very acceptable their * intended helps, and chiefly in that it manifesteth your loves and largeness of hearts to your Sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy scraping grasper, nor a strict fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster, my heart was never set upon any worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again ; yea, mine own properties I account yours, to be expended for your good, and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it for your welfare.

Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, † for I fear I shall yet trouble you with longer speech.

Mr. Speaker, You give me thanks, but I am more to thank you, and I charge you thank them of the Lower House from me ; for had I not received knowledge from you, I might a'

* Their—*i.e.*, the Commons.

† They had been kneeling.

fallen into the lapse of an error, only for want of true information.

Since I was Queen, yet did I never put my pen to any grant but upon pretext and semblance made me that it was for the good and avail of my subjects generally, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who have deserved well; but that my grants shall be made grievances to my people, and oppressions to be privileged under colour of our patents, our princely dignity shall not suffer it.

When I heard it, I could give no rest unto my thoughts until I had reformed it, and those varlets, lewd persons, abusers of my bounty, shall know I will not suffer it. And, Mr. Speaker, tell the House from me, I take it exceeding grateful that the knowledge of these things are come unto me from them. And tho' amongst them the principal members are such as are not touched in private, and therefore need not speak from any feeling of the grief, yet we have heard that other gentlemen also of the House, who stand as free, have also spoken as freely in it; which gives us to know that no respects or interests have moved them, other than the minds they bear to suffer no diminution of our honour and our subjects' love unto us. The zeal of which affection, tending to ease my people and knit their hearts unto us, I embrace with a princely care far above all earthly treasures. I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit: and God, that gave me here to sit, and placed me over you, knows that I never respected myself but as your good was conserved in me; yet what dangers, what practices,* and what perils I have passed, some if not all of you know; but none of these things do move me, or ever made me fear but it's God that hath delivered me.

And in my governing this land I have ever set the last judgment day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment seat I do appeal, in that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good.

* Conspiracies.

And if my princely bounty have been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have neglected or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps * to my charge.

To be a King and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it's pleasant to them that bear it: for myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or the royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things to myself or my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands, but to God only and wholly all is given and ascribed.

The cares and troubles of a crown I cannot more fitly resemble than to the drugs of a learned physician, perfumed with some aromatical savour, or to bitter pills gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take; and for my own part, were it not for conscience sake to discharge the duty that God hath laid upon me and to maintain His glory and keep you in safety, in mine own disposition I should be willing to resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours, for it is not my desire to live nor to reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had nor shall have any that will love you better.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, I commend me to your loyal loves, and yours to my best care and your further councils; and I pray you, Mr. Controuler and Mr. Secretary, and you of my Council, that before these gentlemen depart into their countries, you bring them all to kiss my hand.

* Faults.

## QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DEATH AND NOMINATION OF KING JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND AS HER SUCCESSOR (1603).

"The quiet end of that long-living Queen."—DRAYTON.

**Source.**—Somers, *Tracts* (MS. source not specified). Vol. i, p. 246.

About the Friday sevennight after Christmas last, being about the 14th of January, 1602 [1603], in the 45th year of her reigne, the late queen about two days before sickened of a colde (being ever forewarned by Doctor Dee to beware of White-hall), and the said 14th day removed to Richmond; but a little before her going, even the same morning, the Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England, coming to her, partly to speak with her as concerning her removal, and partly touching other matters wherein her pleasure and direction was to be known, they fell into some speech of the succession; and then she told him that her seat had ever been the throne of kings, and none but her next heir of blood and descent should succeed her. After falling into other matters, they left that speech, and she departed to Richmond; where she was well amended of the cold. But on Monday the 20th of February she began to sicken again, and so continued till Monday the 7th of March, at which time notice was given to the Lords of the Council that she was sick of a cold, and so she continued sick till Tuesday the 15th of March following; after which day she began somewhat to amend. But the 18th of March following, being Friday, she began to be very ill, whereupon the Lords of the Council were sent for to Richmond, and there continued till Wednesday the 24th of March, about three of the clock in the morning (being our Lady even) at which time she died; but on Tuesday before her death, being the 23rd of March, the Lord Admiral being on the right side of the bed, the Lord Keeper at the left, and Mr. Secretary Cecil (after Earl of Salisbury) at the bed's feet, all standing;

The Lord Admiral put her in mind of her speech concerning

the succession, had at White-hall, and that they, in the name of all the rest of her Council, came unto her to know her pleasure who should succeed. Whereunto she thus replied: "I told you my seat had been the seat of Kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me, and who should succeed me but a King?"

The Lords not understanding this dark speech, and looking the one on the other, at length Mr. Secretary boldly asked her what she meant by these words, "That no rascal should succeed her?" Whereunto she replied, "That her meaning was, that a King should succeed her, and who," quoth she, "should that be, but our cousin of Scotland?"

They asked her whether that were her absolute resolution? Whereunto she answered, "I pray you trouble me no more, I'll have none but him."

Notwithstanding, after again, about four a'clock in the afternoon, the next day, being Wednesday (after the Archbishop of Canterbury and other divines had been with her and left her in a manner speechless), the three Lords aforesaid repaired unto her again, asking her if she remained in her former resolution, and who should succeed her; but she not being able to speak, was asked by Mr. Secretary in this sort, "We beseech your Majesty, if you remain in your former resolution, and that you would have the King of Scots to succeed you in your kingdom, shew some sign unto us;" whereat suddenly heaving herself upwards in the bed, she held both her hands jointly together over her head in manner of a crown, whereby as they guessed she signified that she did not only wish him the kingdom, but desired the continuance of his estate, after which they departed.

And the next morning, as is aforesaid, she died. Immediately after her death, as well of the Council as other noblemen that were at the Court, came from Richmond to White-hall by six o'clock in the morning, where other noblemen that were at London met them; but as they began to sit in council in the privy chamber at White-hall, the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, and the rest of the Council that were no

barons, offered to sit at the lower end of the council table, and not above any of the meanest nobility ; but the noblemen, in respect of their former authority, called them to the higher end of the table, and wished them to keep their places, whereunto the Lord Keeper answered, viz. " If it be your Lordships' pleasures, we will do so ; but that is more of your courtesies than we can demand of duty "; and so they sat down, every man according to his degree in Council ; touching the succession, where after some speech had of divers competitors and matters of State, at length the Lord Admiral rehearsed all the aforesaid premisses, which the late Queen had spoken to him and to the Lord Keeper and Mr. Secretary, with the manner thereof ; which they, being asked, did affirm to be true upon their honours.

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## APPENDIX

### THE ENTERTAINMENT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH (1575).

**Source.**—*The Princely Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelwoorth.* Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, 1576. Reprinted in Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. These revels were also described, more vividly, but at greater length, in West Country dialect, by Laneham in his *Letter*, reprinted by Nichols and also by the Early English Text Society.

A brief Rehearsal, or rather, a true Copy of as much as was presented before her Majesty at Kenilworth during her last abode there, as followeth :

Her Majesty came thither, as I remember, on Saturday, being the ninth of June last past : On which day there met her on the way, somewhat near the Castle, Sibylla, who prophesied unto Her Highness the prosperous reign that she should continue, according to the happy beginning of the same. The order thereof was this : Sibylla being placed in an arbour in the park, near the highway where the Queen's Majesty came, did step out, and pronounced as followeth :

"All hail, all hail, thrice happy Prince, I am Sibylla she,
Of future chance and after hap foreshewing what shall be.
* * * * *
And so pass forth in peace, O Prince of high and worthy praise:
The God that governs all in all increase your happy days!"

This device was invented, and the verses also written, by Mr. Hunnis, Master of her Majesty's Chapel.

Her Majesty passing on to the first gate, there stood in the leads and battlements thereof six trumpeters hugely advanced* much exceeding the common stature of men in this age, who had likewise huge and monstrous trumpets counterfeited, wherein they seemed to sound : and behind them were placed certain trumpeters, who sounded indeed at Her Majesty's entry. And by this dumb show it was meant that in the days and reign of King Arthur men were of that stature ; so that the Castle of Kenilworth should seem still to be kept by Arthur's heirs and their servants. And when her Majesty entered the gate, there stood Hercules for Porter who, seeming† to be amazed at such a presence upon such a sudden, proffered to stay them. And yet at last, being overcome by view of the rare beauty and princely countenance of Her Majesty, yielded himself and his charge, presenting the keys unto her Highness, with these words : [Verses.]

These verses were devised and pronounced by Master Badger of Oxenford, Master of Art and Bedell in the same University.

When Her Majesty was entered the gate, and come into the base court, there came unto her a Lady attended with two Nymphs, who came all over the pool, being so conveyed that it seemed she had gone upon the water. This Lady named herself the Lady of the Lake, who spake to her Highness as followeth : [Verses, ending :]

"Passe on Madam, you need no longer stand:
The Lake, the Lodge, the Lord, are yours for to command."

These verses were devised and penned by M. Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.

* These were pasteboard figures eight feet high. † Orig. seemed

Her Majesty, proceeding towards the inward court, passed on a bridge, the which was railed in on both sides. And in the tops of the posts thereof were set sundry presents and gifts of provision, as wine, corn, fruits, fishes, fowls, instruments of music and weapons for martial defence. All which were expounded by an Actor, clad like a Poet, who pronounced these verses in Latin: [Hexameters.]

These verses were devised by Master Muncaster.*. . . This speech being ended, she was received into the inner court with sweet music. And so alighting from her horse, the drums, fifes and trumpets sounded: wherewith she mounted the stairs and went to her lodging.

On the next day, being Sunday, there was nothing done until the evening, at which time there were fireworks shewed upon the water, the which were both strange and well executed: as sometimes, passing under the water a long space, when all men had thought they had been quenched, they would rise and mount out of the water again, and burn very furiously until they were utterly consumed.

And to make some plainer declaration and rehearsal of all these things before Her Majesty, on the 10 of July there met her in the Forest, as she came from hunting, one clad like a Savage man, all in ivy, who, seeming to wonder at such a presence, fell to quarrelling with Jupiter, as followeth: [Dialogue in verse with Echo. The wild man inquires what the reason for all the strange shews he sees may be, and being informed, answers, that he will "make glee with sundry gladsome games" on Thursday.]

These verses were devised, penned and pronounced by Master Gascoigne,† and that (as I have heard credibly reported), upon a very great sudden.

The next thing that was presented before Her Majesty was the delivery of the Lady of the Lake; whereof the Sum was this. Triton, in likeness of a mermaid, came towards

* Richard Mulcaster, first headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School, whose *Positions* is the most important English educational book of the century.

† George Gascoigne, the poet.

the Queen's Majesty as she passed over the bridge, returning from hunting, and to her declared that Neptune had sent him to her Highness, to declare the woful distress wherein the poor Lady of the Lake did remain ; the cause whereof was this. Sir Bruse sauns pitie, in revenge of his cousin Merlin the prophet, whom for his inordinate lust she had enclosed in a rock, did continually pursue the Lady of the Lake, and had long sithens surprised her, but that Neptune, pitying her distress, had environed her with waves. Whereupon she was enforced to live always in that pool, and was thereby called the Lady of the Lake. Furthermore affirming that by Merlin's prophecy it seemed she could never be delivered but by the presence of a better maid than herself. Wherefore Neptune had sent him right humbly to beseech Her Majesty, that she would no more but shew herself, and it should be sufficient to make Sir Bruse withdraw his forces. Furthermore commanding both the waves to be calm and the Fishes to give their attendance. And this he expressed in verse as followeth : [Verses by Triton and the Lady of the Lake.]

From thence Her Majesty passing yet further on the bridge, Proteus appeared, sitting on a dolphin's back. And the dolphin was conveyed upon a boat, so that the oars seemed to be his fins. Within the which dolphin a concert of music was secretly placed, the which sounded : and Proteus, clearing his voice, sang this song of congratulation. . . . [Verses.]

This song being ended, Proteus told the Queen's Majesty a pleasant tale of his delivery, and the fishes which he had in charge. The device of the Lady of the Lake was also Master Hunnis'. . . .

And now you have as much as I could recover hitherto of the devices executed there ; the country shews excepted and the merry marriage, the which were so plain as needeth no further explication. To proceed then : there was prepared a show to have been presented before Her Majesty in the Forest ; the argument whereof was this :

Diana, passing in chase with her nymphs, taketh knowledge of the country, and thereby calleth to mind how, near seven-

teen years past, she lost in those coasts one of the best beloved nymphs, named Zabeta.* She describeth the rare virtues of Zabeta. One of her nymphs confirmeth the remembrance therof, and seemeth to doubt that dame Juno hath won Zabeta to be a follower of hers. Diana confirmeth the suspicion; but yet, affirming herself much in Zabeta's constancy, giveth charge to her Nymphs that they diligently hearken and espy in all places to find or hear news of Zabeta: and so passeth on.

To entertain intervallum temporis, a man clad all in moss cometh in lamenting, and declaring that he is the wild man's son, which not long before had presented himself before Her Majesty; and that his father (upon such words as her Highness did then use to him) lay languishing like a blind man, until it might please her Highness to take the film from his eyes.

The Nymphs return one after another in quest of Zabeta; at last Diana herself, returning and hearing no news of her, invoketh the help of her father Jupiter. Mercury cometh down in a cloud, sent by Jupiter, to recomfort Diana, and bringeth her unto Zabeta. Diana rejoiceth, and after much friendly discourse departeth: affying herself in Zabeta's prudence and policy. She and Mercury being departed, Iris cometh down from the rainbow, sent by Juno; persuading the Queen's Majesty that she be not carried away by Mercury's filed† speech nor Diana's fair words; but that she consider all things by proof, and then she shall find much greater cause to follow Juno than Diana. [The text of the Shew, in two Acts.]

This Shew was devised and penned by M. Gascoigne; and being prepared and ready (every Actor in his garment) two or three days together, yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing than to lack of opportunity and seasonable weather.‡

The Queen's Majesty hasting her departure from thence, the Earl commanded Master Gascoigne to devise some farewell worth the presenting; whereupon he himself, clad like

* *I.e.*, Elizabeth. † Polished. ‡ It was the latter

unto Silvanus, God of the Woods, and meeting her as she went on hunting, spake ex tempore as followeth : [Prose Allegory, with songs, ending :]

" Whereat your Highness may rest assured, that heaven will smile, the earth will quake, men will clap their hands, and I will always continue an humble beseecher for the flourishing estate of your royal person, whom God now and ever preserve, to his good pleasure and our great comfort. Amen."

## LONDON IN THE PLAGUE (about 1593).

**Source.**—Lansdowne MSS., Malone Society, *Collections*. I. ii., p. 206.

London. Orders to be sett downe by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London for taking awaie such enormities as be meanes not only to continue but increase the plague and disorders of the Citie ; being taken out of the proclamations set out by the Citie and the articles sett downe for providing for the poor and setting them to work.

### Aldermen or their Deputies.

1. To give charge to Churchwardens, Constables, Parish Clerks and Bedells to enquire what houses be infected.

2. To visit the ward often to see orders observed, especially touching cleanness in the streets.

3. The Aldermen or their deputies in their own persons to appoint Surveyors monthly in every parishe.

4. To appoint that certificate may be made to them what houses be infected.

5. To give charge to all teachers of children that (as nere as they can) they permit no children to come to their scoles from infected houses, especiallie till such houses have bene clere by the space of 28 daies, and that none kepe a greater number than their Roomes shall be thought fit by the Aldermen or their deputies to conteyne.

### Surveyours.

1. To see the orders for the sick executed daylie and diligentlie, upon knowledge from the Aldermen what houses be infected.

2. To appoint purveyours of necessaries for infected houses (being of the same houses), and deliver them reed rods to carry, and see that none other resort to their houses.

### Constables.

1. To bring every daie notice in writing to the Aldermen or their deputies what houses be infected.

### Constable and Churchwarden.

1. To provyde to have in readiness women to be providers and deliverers of necessaries to infected houses, and to attend the infected persons, and they to bear reed wandes, so that the sicke maie be kept from the whole, as nere as maie be, nedefull attendance weighed.

### Constable and Bedell.

1. To inquire what houses be infected.

2. To view dailie that papers remaine upon doors xxviii daies or to place newe.

### Clarkes and Sextons.

1. To understand what houses be infected.

2. To see bills set upon the doors of houses infected.

3. To suffer no corpses infected to be buried or remain in the churche during prayer or sermon, and to keep children from coming nere them.

### Scavengers and Rakers.

1. To see the streets made cleane every daie saving Sunday and the soile to be carried away.

2. To warn all inhabitants, against their houses to keep channels clere from fylth (by only turning it aside) that the water maie have passage.

### Common Hunt.

1. To kyll dogs, etc., or to lose his place.

### Householders and Houses.

1. Houses having some sicke though none die, or from whence some sicke have bene removed, are infected houses, and such are to be shut up for a month.

2. The whole familie to tarry in xxviii days.

3. To keep shut the lower rooms for the like space.

4. One licensed to go for provision, etc.

5. No clothes hanged into the streets.

6. Such as have wells or pumpes, every morning by six and every evening after eight a clocke, shall cause ten bucketts full to run into the streets.

7. Every evening at that hour the streets and channells to be made cleane, the water not swept out of the channell, nor the streets overwett but sprinkled, etc.

8. The houses infected and things in them to be aired in the xxviii days and no clothes or things about the infected persons to be given awaie or sold but either destroyed or sufficientlie purified.

9. Owners of houses infected with their familie, may within the month depart to any their houses in the countrye, or to any other house in the Cyttye without being shut up, so that they abstain from returning to the Cyttye, or from going abroad out of house in the Cyttye, for a month.

10. None shall keep dogg or bitche abroad unled nor within howling or disturbing of their neighbours.

11. To have no assembly at funeral dynners or usual meeting in houses infected.

12. None shall for a month come into infected houses but such as be of the house and licensed to do service abroad.

13. No donghills out of stables, Bearhouses or other places to be made in the strete.

14. To have double time of Restraint for consenting to pull down bills, and the taker awaie to suffer imprisonement for viii. days.

### Two Viewers of dead bodies, Two Viewers of sick suspected,

Shall be appointed and sworne.

These viewers to report to the Constable, he to the Clarke, and he to the chief of Clarkes, all upon pain of imprisonment. A pain of standing on the pillorye for false reports by the viewers. A loss of pension to such as shall refuse.

### Mendinge of Pavements.

That diligent care be had, that pavements be amended where nede is, and that principall paviers be appointed to survey the wants of paving, especiallie in Channels, and that the dwellers against such may be forced to amend them.

### Interludes and Plaies.

If the increase of the sicknes be feared, that Interludes and plaies be restrained within the libertyes of the Cyttye.

### Phisicions and Surgeons.

That skilful and learned physicions and surgeons may be provided to minister to the sicke.

### Vagrant, Masterless, and poore people.

1. That all such as be diseased be sent to St. Thomas or St. Bartylmewes hospitall, there to be first cured and made cleane, and afterwards those which be not of the Cyttye to be sent awaie according to the statute in that case provided, and the other to be sett to worke, in such trades as are least used by the Inhabitants of the Cyttye, for the avoyding * of all such vagrant persons, as well children male and female, soldiers lame and maymed, as other idle and loytering persons that swarme in the streets and wander up and downe begging, to the great daunger and infecting of the Cyttye for th'increase of the plague and annoyance to the same.

2. That all maisterlesse men who live idlie in the Cyttye

* Getting rid of.

without any lawfull calling, frequenting places of common assemblies, as Interludes, gaming houses, cockpitts, bowling allies, and such other places, may be banished the Cyttye according to the laws in that case provyded.

All which orders aforesaid the Aldermen and their deputies are every one in their place to see performed, both in themselves and others, and in cases of doubt to yield their opinions and gyve directions.

(Endorsed) Orders to be set down of the Lord Mayor.

For repressing of disorders and relief of the poor.

## A PESSIMIST ON THE AGE.

**Source.**—Roger Ascham: *The Scholemaster*, 1570. Ed. Mayor.

### Italianate Englishmen.

But I am affraide, that over many of our travelers into *Italie*, do not eschewe the way to *Circes* Court: but go, and ryde, and runne, and flie thether, they make great hast to cum to her: they make great sute to serve her: yea, I could point out some with my finger, that never had gone out of England, but onelie to serve *Circes* in *Italie*. Vanitie and vice, and any licence to ill living in England was counted stale and rude unto them. And so, beying Mules and Horses before they went, returned verie Swyne and Asses home agayne: yet every where verie Foxes with subtle and busie heades: and where they may, verie wolves, with cruell malicious hartes. A mervelous monster, which, for filthines of livyng, for dulnes to learning him selfe, for wilinesse in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carie at once in one bodie, the belie of a Swyne, the head of an Asse, the brayne of a Foxe, the wombe of a wolfe. If you thinke, we judge amisse, and write too sore against you, heare, what the *Italian* sayth of the English man, what the master reporteth of the scholer: who uttereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, saying, *Englese Italianato, e un diabolo*

*incarnato*, that is to say, you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum devils in life and condition. . . .

I was once in Italie my selfe : but I thanke God, my abode there, was but ix. dayes : And yet I sawe in that litle tyme, in one Citie, more libertie to sinne, than ever I hard tell of in our noble Citie of London in ix. yeare. I sawe, it was there as free to sinne, not onelie without all punishment, but also without any mans marking, as it is free in the Citie of London, to chose, without all blame, whether a man lust to weare Shoo or pantocle.*

* * * * *

### Novels and Romances.

These be the inchantementes of Circes, brought out of Italie, to marre mens maners in England : much, by example of ill life, but more by preceptes of fonde bookes, of late translated out of *Italian* into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the soner to corrupt honest maners : dedicated over boldlie to vertuous and honorable personages, the easielier to beguile simple and innocent wittes. It is pitie, that those which have authoritie and charge to allow and disalow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are. Ten Sermons at Paules Crosse do not so moch good for movying men to trewe doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme with inticing men to ill living. Yea, I say farder, those bookes tend not so much to corrupt honest livyng, as they do to subvert trewe Religion. Mo Papistes be made, by your mery bookes of *Italie*, than by your earnest bookes of *Lovain*. . . .

In our forefathers tyme, when Papistrie, as a standyng poole, covered and overflowed all England, fewe bookes were read in our tong, savyng certaine bookes of Chevalrie, as they sayd, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in Monasteries, by idle Monkes, or wanton Canons : as one for example, *Morte Arthure :* the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open mans

* Slipper.

slaughter, and bold bawdrye : In which booke those be counted the noblest Knightes, that do kill most men without any quarell, and commit fowlest advoulteres* by sutlest shiftes. . . . This is good stuffe for wise men to laughe at or honest men to take pleasure at. Yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the Court, and *Morte Arthure* received into the Princes chamber. What toyes, the dayly readyng of such a booke may worke in the will of a yong gentleman, or a yong mayde, that liveth welthelie and idlelie, wise men can judge, and honest men do pitie. And yet ten *Morte Arthures* do not the tenth part of so much harme, as one of these bookes made in *Italie*, and translated in England. . . .

* * * * *

### New-fangled Dress.

If some Smithfeild ruffian take up some strange going, some new mowing with the mouth : some wrenchyng with the shoulder, some brave proverbe : some fresh new othe, that is not stale but will run round in the mouth : some new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in facion, or garish in colour, what soever it cost, how small soever his living be, by what shift soever it be gotten, gotten must it be, and used with the first, or els the grace of it is stale and gone.

* * * * *

### Contempt for Learning.

If a father have foure sonnes, three faire and well formed both mynde and bodie, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shalbe, to put the worst to learning, as one good enoughe to becum a scholer. I have spent the most parte of my life in the Universitie, and therfore I can beare good witnes that many fathers commonlie do thus : wherof, I have heard many wise, learned, and as good men as ever I knew, make great, and oft complainte : a good horseman will choose no soch colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his master's sadle.

* * * * *

* Adulteries.

### How to attract the Scholar.

Young men, by any meanes, losing the love of learning, when by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie from the schole with them a perpetuall hatred of their master, and a continuall contempt of learning. If ten gentlemen be asked why they forget so sone in court that which they were learning so long in schole, eight of them (or let me be blamed) will laie the fault on their ill handling by their scholemasters. . . .

Yet, some will say, that children of nature love pastime and mislike learning: bicause, in their kinde, the one is easie and pleasant, the other hard and werisom: which is an opinion not so trewe, as some men weene: For, the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be yong, as in the order and maner of bringing up by them that be old, nor yet in the difference of learnyng and pastime. For, beate a child if he daunce not well, and cherish him though he learne not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to daunce and glad to go to his booke. Knocke him alwaies, when he draweth his shaft ill, and favor him againe, though he faut* at his booke, ye shall have hym verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole.†

## PURITANISM ON DRESS.

**Source.**—Philip Stubbes: *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583 (Ed. New Shakspere Society). Part i., pp. 51-52, 71-73.

But wot you what? The devil, as he is in the fulness of his malice, first invented these great ruffes, so hath he now found out also two great stayes to beare up and maintaine that his kingdome of great ruffes (for the devil is king and prince over all the children of pride): the one arch or piller whereby his kingdome of great ruffes is underpropped, is a certain kind of liquide matter which they call Starch, wherein the devil

* Fault, make mistakes.

† See p. 97 for Lady Jane Grey, whom Ascham gives as an example of this rule.

hath willed them to wash and dive* his ruffes wel, which, when they be dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks. The other piller is a certain device made of wires, crested for the purpose, whipped over either with gold, thread, silver or silk, and this he calleth a supportasse, or underpropper. This is to be applyed round about their necks under the ruffe, upon the outside of the band, to beare up the whole frame and body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

* * * * *

And amongst many other fearfull examples of God's wrathe against Pride, to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Judgement of God, shewed upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna† of late, even the 27 of May 1582, the fearfull sound whereof is blown through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in every man's memory. This gentlewoman being a very rich merchant man's daughter: upon a time was invited to a Bridall or Weddyng, which was solemnised in that Town, against which day she made great preparation, for the pluming of herself in gorgeous array, that as her bodie was most beautifull, fair and proper, so her attire in every respect might be correspondent to the same. For the accomplishment whereof she curled her hair, she died her locks, and laid them out after the best manner, she coloured her face with water and Ointments: But in no case could she get any (so curious and dainty she was) that could starch and sett her Ruffes and Neckerchers to her Minde: wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundresses, who did the best they could to please her humors, but in any wise they could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curse and ban, casting the Ruffes under feet, and wishing that the Devil might take her when she wear any of those Neckerchers again. In the meantime (through the sufferance of God) the Devil, transforming himself into the forme of a young man, as brave and proper as she in every point in outward appearance, came in, feigning himself to be a wooer or suiter unto her. And seeing her thus agonised, and in such a pelting chafe, he demanded of her the cause thereof,

* Dip. † Antwerp (spelt backwards).

who straightway told him (as women can conceal nothing that lyeth upon their stomackes) how she was abused* in the setting of her Ruffes ; which thynge being heard of him. he promised to please her minde, and thereto took in hand the setting of her Ruffes, which he performed to her great contentation and likyng, insomuch as she lookyng herselfe in a glass (as the Devil had her) became greatly enamoured with hym. This done the young man kissed her, in the doing whereof, he writhe her neck in sunder, so she died miserably, her body being metamorphosed into blacke and blue colours, most ugglesome to behold, and her face (which before was so amorous) became moste deformed and fearfull to look upon. This being known, preparation was made for her buriall, a rich coffin was provided and her fearfull bodie was laid therein, and it covered very sumptuously. Four men immediately essaied to lift up the corpse, but could not move it, then six attempted the like, but could not once stir it from the place where it stood. Whereat the standers by marvelling, caused the coffin to be opened to see the cause thereof. Where they found the body to be taken away and a black Catte very lean and deformed sitting in the coffin, setting of great Ruffes and frizzling of haire, to the great fear and wonder of all the beholders. This woeful spectacle have I offered to their view, that by looking into it, instead of their other looking Glasses they might see their own filthiness and avoid the like offence, for fear of the same or worser judgment : whiche God grant they mai do.

## PURITANISM ON SPORT.

**Source.**—Philip Stubbes : *Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583 (Ed. New Shakspere Society), Part i., p. 184.

For as concerning football playing I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kind of fight than a play or recreation : a bloody and murthering practice, than a fellowly sport or pastime. For doth not every one lie in wait for his

* Ill-used.

adversary, seeking to overthrow him and to pick him on his nose, though it be upon hard stones ? in ditch or dale, in valley or hill, or what place soever it be, he careth not so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only fellow, and who but he ? so that by this means sometimes their necks are broken, sometimes their backs, sometime their legs, sometime their arms : sometime one part thrust out of joint, sometime another : sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out ; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scot free, but is either sore wounded, craised* and bruised, so he dieth of it, or else scapeth very hardly, and no marvel, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dash him against the heart with their elbows, to hit him under the short ribs with their gripped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices ; and hereof groweth envy, malice, rancour, choler, hatred, displeasure, enmity, and what not else : and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murder, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience daily teacheth.

Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the Sabaoth day ? Is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to maim and hurt another, and that upon prepensed malice or set purpose ? is this to do with another as we would another to do with us ? *God make us more careful over the bodies of our Brethren !*

## PURITANISM AND THE STAGE : THE ATTITUDE OF THE CITY OF LONDON TOWARDS THE THEATRES.

**Source.**—*Remembrancia* (Archives of the City of London), Malone Society, *Collections*, I., i., p. 68 ; ii., p. 164.

### I.

Our most humble duties to your Grace remembred. Whereas by the daily and disorderlie exercise of a number of players

* Crushed.

and playing houses erected within this Citie, the youth thereof is greatly corrupted and their manners infected with many evill and ungodly qualities by reason of the wanton and prophane devises represented on the stages by the said players, the prentices and servants withdrawen from their works and all sorts in generall from the daylie resort unto sermons and other Christian exercises to the great hinderance of the trades and traders of this Citie and prophanation of the good and godly religion established amongst us. To which places also do usually resort great numbers of light and lewd disposed persons as harlotts, cutpurses, coseners, pilferers and such like and there under the colour of resort to those places to hear the playes devise divers evill and ungodly matches, confederacies and conspiracies, which by means of the oppotunitie of the place cannot bee prevented nor discovered, as otherwise they might bee. In consideration whereof we most humbly beseach your Grace for your godly care for the refourming of so great abuses tending to the offence of Almightie God, the prophanation and sclaunder of his true religion and the corrupting of our youth, which are the seed of the Church of God and the common wealth among us, to vouchsafe us your good favour and help for the refourming and banishing of so great evill out of this Citie, which ourselves of long time though to small purpose have so earnestly desired and endeavoured by all means that possibly wee could. And bycause we understand that the Queen's Majestie is and must bee served at certen times by this sort of people, for which purpose she hath graunted her letters Patents to Mr. Tilney, Master of her Revells, by virtue whereof he beeing authorised to refourm exercise or suppresse all manner of players, playes and playing houses whatsoever, did first license the said playing houses within this Citie for her Majesty's said service, which before that time lay open to all the statutes for the punishing of these and such lyke disorders. We ar most humbly and earnestly to beseech your Grace to call unto you the said Master of her Majesty's Revells, with whom also we have conferred of late to that purpose, and to treat with him,

if by any means it may be devised that her Majesty may be served with these recreations as hath been accustomed, which in our opinions may easily be done by the private exercise of her Majesty's own players in convenient place and the Citie freed from these continuall disorders, which thereby do grow and increase daily among us. Whereby your Grace shall not only benefit and bind unto you the politic state and government of this Citie, which by no one thing is so greatly annoyed and disquieted as by players and playes and the disorders which follow thereupon, but allso take away a great offence from the Church of God and hinderance to his gospell, to the great contentment of all good Christians, specially the preachers and ministers of the Word of God about this Citie, who have long time and yet do make their earnest continuall complaint unto us for the redresse hereof. And thus recommending our most humble duties and service to your Grace we commit the same to the grace of the Almightie. From London the 25th of February, 1591.

YOUR GRACES MOST HUMBLE.

To the right reverend father in God my L. the Archbisshop of Canturbury his Grace.

## II.

That night I returned to London and found all the wardes full of watchers ; the cause thereof was for that very nere the Theatre or Curtain at the tyme of the Plays there laye a prentice sleeping upon the grasse, and one Challes at Grostock did turn upon the toe upon the belly of the same prentice ; whereupon the apprentice start up and after words they fell to playne blowes. The companie increased of both sides to the number of 500 at the least. This Challes exclaimed and said that he was a gentelman and that the apprentice was but a rascall, and some there were little better than rogues that tooke upon them the name of gentlemen, and said the prentices were but the scum of the world. Upon these troubles the prentices began the next daye being Tuesday to make mutinies and assemblies and dyd conspire to have broken the

prisons and to have taken forth the prentices that were imprisoned, but my lord and I having intelligence thereof apprensed* four or five of the chief conspirators who are in Newgate and stand indicted of their lewd demeanors. . . .

Upon the same Wednesday at night two companions, one being a tailor and the other a clerk of the common pleas, both of the duchy and both very lewd fellows, fell out about a harlott, and the tailor raised the prentices and other light persons, and thinking that the clerk was run in to Lyons Inn came to the house with 300 at the least, brake down the wyndowes of the house and struck at the gentlemen ; during which broil one Reynolds a bakers sonne came into Fleet Street and there made solemn proclamation for clubs. The street rose and took him and brought him unto me and the next day we indicted him also for this misdemenour with many other more. . . .

Upon Sunday my lord sent two Aldermen to the Court for the suppressing and pulling downe of the Theatre and Curtain. All the Lords agreed thereunto saving my Lord Chamberlain . . . but we obtained a letter to suppresse them all. Upon the same night I sent for the quene's players and my lord of Arundel his players, and they all willinglie obeyed the Lords' letters. The chiefest of her Highness's players advised me to send for the owner of the Theatre† who was a stubborn fellow and to bind him. I dyd so. He sent me word that he was my Lord of Hunsdon's man and that he would not come at me but he would in the morning ride to my lord. Then I sent the under-sheriff for him and he brought him to me, and at his coming he stouted me out very hasty, and in the end I showed him my lord his master's hand, and then he was more quiet, but to die for it he would not be bound.

## EUPHUISM, A FASHION OF 1580.

**Source.**—Lyly : *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, 1578, beginning.

There dwelt in Athens ‡ a young gentleman of great patrimony, and of so comely a personage, that it was doubted

* Arrested. † Probably Burbage. ‡ *I.e.*, Oxford ?

whether he were more bound to Nature for the lineaments of his person, or to Fortune for the increase of his possessions. But Nature, impatient of comparisons, and as it were disdaining a companion or copartner in her working, added to this comeliness of his body such a sharp capacity of mind, that not only she proved Fortune counterfeit, but was half of that opinion that she herself was only current. This young gallant, of more wit than wealth, and yet of more wealth than wisdom, seeing himself inferior to none in pleasant conceits, thought himself superior to all his honest conditions, insomuch that he thought himself so apt to all things that he gave himself almost to nothing but practising of those things commonly which are incident to these sharp wits, fine phrases, smooth quips, merry taunts, using jesting without mean and abusing mirth without measure. As therefore the sweetest Rose hath his prickle, the finest velvet his brack,* the fairest flower his bran, so the sharpest wit hath his wanton will, and the holiest head his wicked way. And true it is that some men write and most men believe, that in all perfect shapes a blemish bringeth rather a liking every way to the eyes than a loathing any way to the mind. Venus had her mole in her cheek which made her more amiable. Helen her scar in her chin, which Paris called Cos amoris, the whetstone of love, Aristippus his wart, Lycurgus his wen: so likewise in the disposition of the mind, either virtue is overshadowed with some vice, or vice is overcast with some virtue. Alexander valiant in war, yet given to wine. Tully eloquent in his gloses,† yet vainglorious. Solomon wise, yet too wanton. David holy, but yet an homicide. None more witty than Euphues, yet at the first none more wicked. The freshest colours soonest fade, the teenest‡ razor soonest turneth his edge, the finest cloth is soonest eaten with moths, and the cambric sooner stained than the coarse canvas: which appeared well in this Euphues, whose wit being like wax, apt to receive any impression, and bearing the head in his own hand either to use the rein or the spur,

* Break, flaw. † Speeches. ‡ Sharpest.

disdaining counsel, leaving his country, loathing his old acquaintance, thought either by wit to obtain some conquest, or by shame to abide some conflict, who preferring fancy before friends, and his present humour before honour to come, laid reason in water being too salt for his taste, and followed unbridled affection, most pleasant for his tooth. When parents have more care how to leave their children wealthy than wise, and are more desirous to have them maintain the name than the nature of a gentleman, when they put gold into the hands of youth, where they should put a rod under their girdle, when instead of awe they make them past grace, and leave them rich executors of goods, and poor executors of godliness, then is it no marvel that the son, being left rich by his father's will, becomes retchless by his own will. But it hath been an old said saw, that wit is the better if it be the dearer bought : as in the sequel of this history shall most manifestly appear.

It happened this young imp to arrive at Naples* (a place of more pleasure than profit, and yet of more profit than piety) the very walls and windows whereof shewed it rather to be the Tabernacle of Venus than the Temple of Vesta. There was all things necessary and in readiness, that might either allure the mind to lust or entice the heart to folly : a court more meet for an Atheist, than for one of Athens, for Ovid, than for Aristotle, for a graceless lover, than for a godly liver, more fitter for Paris than Hector, and meeter for Flora than Diana. Here my youth (whether for weariness he could not, or for wantonness would not go any farther) determined to make his abode, whereby it is evidently seen that the fleetest fish swalloweth the delicatest bait, that the highest soaring hawk traineth to the lure, and that the wittiest brain is inveigled with the sudden view of alluring vanities. Here he wanted no companions, which courted him continually with sundry kinds of devices, whereby they might either soak his purse to reap commodity, or sooth his person to win credit : for he had guests and companions of all sorts.

* *I.e.*, London ?

## AN ELIZABETHAN MAN OF LETTERS: THOMAS NASHE DEFENDS ROBERT GREENE'S MEMORY AGAINST GABRIEL HARVEY.

**Source.**—Thomas Nashe: *Strange Newes*, 1592. Edited by R. B. McKerrow, 1904.

In short tearmes, thus I demur upon thy long Kentish-tayld declaration against Greene.

He inherited more vertues than vices: a jolly long red peake,* like the spire of a steeple, he cherisht continually without cutting, whereat a man might hang a jewell, it was so sharpe and pendant. . . . Debt and deadly sinne, who is not subject to? With any notorious crime I never knew him tainted. . . . A good fellowe he was, and would have drunk with thee for more angels than the Lord thou libeldst on gave thee in Christ's College. . . . In a night and a day would he have yarkt up a pamphlet as well as in seaven yeare, and glad was that printer that might be so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit.

He made no account of winning credite by his workes, . . . his only care was to have a spel in his purse to conjure up a good cuppe of wine with at all times.

For the lowsie circumstance of his poverty before his death, and sending that miserable writte to his wife, it cannot be but thou lyest, learned Gabriell.

I and one of my fellowes, Will. Monox (Hast thou never heard of him and his great dagger?) were in company with him a month before he died, at that fatall banquet of Rhenish wine and pickled herring (if thou wilt needs have it so), and the inventory of his apparrell came to more than three shillings. . . .

* Pointed beard.

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